

the Feckless

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Argentina	6.00	Den	115	Hon	100	Italy	100
Austria	25.5	Iran	100	Japan	100	Lebanon	100
Bahamas	10.00	Kenya	100	Malaysia	100	Lithuania	100
Belgium	35.00	Libya	100	Mexico	100	Madagascar	100
Bolivia	10.00	Morocco	100	Nicaragua	100	Mali	100
Brazil	10.00	Norway	100	Niger	100	Moldavia	100
Bulgaria	10.00	Poland	100	Romania	100	Monaco	100
Canada	10.00	Portugal	100	Saudi Arabia	100	Montenegro	100
Chad	10.00	Russia	100	Senegal	100	Netherlands	100
China	10.00	Spain	100	Singapore	100	Norway	100
Colombia	10.00	Sweden	100	Slovakia	100	Poland	100
Czechoslovakia	10.00	Switzerland	100	Slovenia	100	Portugal	100
Denmark	10.00	Taiwan	100	Serbia	100	Romania	100
Egypt	10.00	Thailand	100	Slovakia	100	Russia	100
France	10.00	Turkey	100	Slovenia	100	Saudi Arabia	100
Germany	10.00	Ukraine	100	Slovenia	100	Senegal	100
Ghana	10.00	USA	100	Slovenia	100	Singapore	100
Greece	10.00	USSR	100	Slovenia	100	Slovakia	100
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ESTABLISHED 1887

Chinese Crackdown Intensifies as Rebel Groups Are Banned

By Nicholas D. Kristof
New York Times Service

BEIJING — The government banned unofficial pro-democracy organizations Monday and gave the police the right to shoot "rioters," as official news organizations intensified their attacks on a prominent dissident, Fang Lizhi, and on the United States for giving him refuge in their embassy here.

The television news continued to report waves of new arrests around the country of "thugs" who had supported the democracy movement and opposed the military crackdown over a week ago.

It is not known how many people have been arrested, but two days ago the official figure for Beijing stood at 400. That figure is now believed to be much higher.

National television showed close-up scenes of demonstrators trying to resist the Chinese Army during the crackdown, and suggested that people report anyone they recognized. A broadcast said that in just one Beijing district, 25 "rioters" had been arrested after reports from the "masses."

[The United States said Monday that if the paramount Chinese leader, Deng Xiaoping, was responsible for the attack June 4 on demonstrators near Tiananmen Square, "then he has acted to undercut the very reform process he sought to foster." Reuters reported from Washington: It was the first U.S. criticism of a specific Chinese leader over the recent events.

[The State Department said that

China's efforts to label political opponents "counterrevolutionaries" would not change the fact that large numbers of peaceful demonstrators were killed by troops in the square.

[A spokeswoman for the department, Margaret Tutwiler, said, "That's a tragedy for China, its people and for the legacy he sought to pass on." She referred to "the chairman," but other senior officials said that Mr. Deng was the target of the statement.]

The attacks on Mr. Fang, an astrophysicist, and his wife, Li Shuxian, an assistant professor at Beijing University, added to the strains on the U.S.-Chinese relationship and seemed set to complicate any effort toward a negotiated solution.

Mr. Fang and his wife are outspoken critics of the Communist Party leadership. They were given refuge a week ago in the U.S. Embassy and were charged Sunday with counterrevolutionary activities.

In Washington, the Bush administration indicated that it would not turn the couple over to the Chinese authorities. A U.S. official, who declined to be identified, said that any attempt to arrest them would be resisted.

At the same time, Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d opened talks Monday with the Chinese ambassador to Washington in an effort to resolve the case. No immediate progress was reported.

Under international law, China would be disqualified.

See CHINA, Page 7



A West German high school student greeting Mr. Gorbachev on Monday in Bonn as the Soviet leader began a four-day visit.

Gorbachev Says Bush Arms Plan Offers Promise

By Robert J. McCartney
and David Remnick
Washington Post Service

BOON — Mikhail S. Gorbachev welcomed "with satisfaction" on Monday the recent initiative by President George Bush to slash the number of troops in Europe, and he said the new position should make it possible to reach an East-West agreement on reducing conventional forces "much earlier than previously thought."

In his first response to the U.S. proposals, unveiled by President Bush two weeks ago, Mr. Gorbachev said at a state dinner on the first day of a four-day visit to West Germany that the Bush plan was "a serious and specific response" to Warsaw Pact positions.

The Soviet leader also welcomed the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's new readiness to enter negotiations on reducing short-range nuclear weapons. But he criticized NATO for setting stiff conditions for entering such talks, and he renewed Moscow's call for elimination of all nuclear weapons.

Mr. Gorbachev's comments provided the most comprehensive Soviet response yet to Mr. Bush's proposal, made at the alliance summit meeting last month in Brussels, to bring home and demobilize 30,000 U.S. combat troops from Western Europe over the next four years.

This would be done, Mr. Bush

said, if the Soviet Union would withdraw a much larger number of its soldiers deployed on the territory of East European allies.

The Bush proposal, which was accepted in principle by the rest of the Western alliance, marked the first time that the alliance had expressed its readiness to cut troop levels and combat aircraft, as the Warsaw Pact has urged.

Previously, NATO sought to focus on cutting tanks, artillery and armored personnel carriers in the East-West talks in Vienna on reducing conventional, or conventional, forces in Europe. These are weapons in which the Warsaw Pact has numerical superiority.

"We note with satisfaction that the United States and NATO have agreed, finally, to reduce military manpower in Europe," Mr. Gorbachev said. "We are encouraged by your readiness to apply reductions to your offensive arms, not just demand reductions on our side."

"There is more reason to believe now that agreement in Vienna may be reached much earlier than previously thought."

Mr. Gorbachev did not say whether the Soviet Union would be willing to reduce its troops in Eastern Europe by as much or as quickly as President Bush proposed.

The Soviet leader said that the NATO summit position "clearly

See GORBACHEV, Page 2

Johnson Admits He Used Steroids

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

TORONTO — The sprinter Ben Johnson acknowledged under oath on Monday that he had taken steroids for years and that he was aware both of the effects of the drugs and of the fact that they were banned for use by athletes.

Mr. Johnson, who was stripped of a gold medal and a 9.79-second world record for the 100-meter dash at the Seoul Olympics in September, previously had denied that he had "knowingly" taken illegal drugs.

He told a Canadian government tribunal on Monday that his long-time coach, Charlie Francis, first made him an unwitting user of steroids in 1981, adding that it occurred to him soon thereafter that the pills he was handed were banned substances.

"If he gave me something to take, I take it," Mr. Johnson said of Mr. Francis. "No one told me they were banned."

Mr. Johnson said Mr. Francis told him at a 1981 training session that the "whole world" was using drugs and that the only way he was going to get better was to take them.

"At the time I didn't say yes or no," Mr. Johnson said. "I didn't come up to him and say I want to go on it."

Mr. Johnson acknowledged that by 1983 he was aware that the two different types of drugs he had

tried by then, Dianabol and stanozolol, were steroids.

Robert Armstrong, the government counsel for the inquiry, asked: "And you, of course, became aware that steroids were drugs that were banned and that if you took a test and it was found you had them in your system, that you'd be disqualified?"

"Yes," the sprinter answered. "Asked if he took Dianabol and growth hormones in the fall of 1983 as Mr. Francis had testified, the sprinter replied: "Probably. Could be."

Mr. Johnson's appearance before the federal inquiry into drugs and athletics, which is likely to keep him on the witness stand for days, ended the runner's silence on the scandal. In Seoul, he initially offered the quickly discredited alibi that someone had spiked his pre-race drink.

The federal inquiry has heard testimony from Mr. Johnson's coach, his doctor and fellow athletes on steroid use dating to 1981 and continuing within weeks of the Seoul Olympics.

It also was provided with a tape covertly made in January 1988 by Dr. Jamie Astaphan, Mr. Johnson's personal physician, in which the sprinter discussed steroid use.

A central question is how much Mr. Johnson, 27, was capable of understanding about anabolic steroids and their implications.

Dr. Astaphan and Mr. Francis, who was Mr. Johnson's only coach from the time he was a 15-year-old boy who had just arrived in Canada from Jamaica, said the athlete was informed and aware.

In his cross-examination of witnesses, however, Ed Futeran, Mr. Johnson's lawyer, has portrayed the sprinter as something of a trusting innocent, an athlete of limited education and possibly limited mental ability.

As Mr. Futeran told it, Mr. Johnson looked on his coach and his doctor as father figures and would have taken their advice.

Mr. Francis, Dr. Astaphan and other witnesses have said that Mr. Johnson was fully informed and very much had a mind of his own.

Mr. Johnson testified Monday that neither Dr. Astaphan nor Mr. Francis told him about the possible side effects of steroids.

(AP, UPI, Reuters)

Bush Proposes Big Cut in Air Pollutants

By Philip Shabecoff
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — President George Bush, saying "we will make the 1990s the era for clean air," proposed Monday an array of measures to strengthen the law for fighting air pollution.

Mr. Bush asked that the 1970 Clean Air Act be amended to nearly halve the sulfur dioxide, a leading component of acid rain, and to require other major efforts to combat urban smog and reduce emissions of toxic chemicals into the air.

As the law stands today, these problems are unaddressed or unmet.

Mr. Bush's proposal marked a break with the Reagan Administration, which, for its full eight years, essentially opposed all efforts to impose anti-pollution requirements on industry.

The initiative is expected to break the deadlock in Congress that has blocked any changes in the Clean Air Act since 1977.

If enacted as described by Mr. Bush, the proposals could significantly lower threats now posed by air pollution to the public health and the natural environment.

They could also require heavy investments by industry, including the electric utility, automotive and oil industries.

William K. Reilly, administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, estimated that the costs of complying with Mr. Bush's program could reach \$14 billion to \$18 billion a year when in full effect.

Members of Congress, state officials and environmentalists praised Mr. Bush's clean-air goals. But a number of these commentators said that they doubted that the means proposed by Mr. Bush were adequate to reach the goals.

Some groups within the electric utility and oil industries complained that specific requirements were excessive or unnecessary.

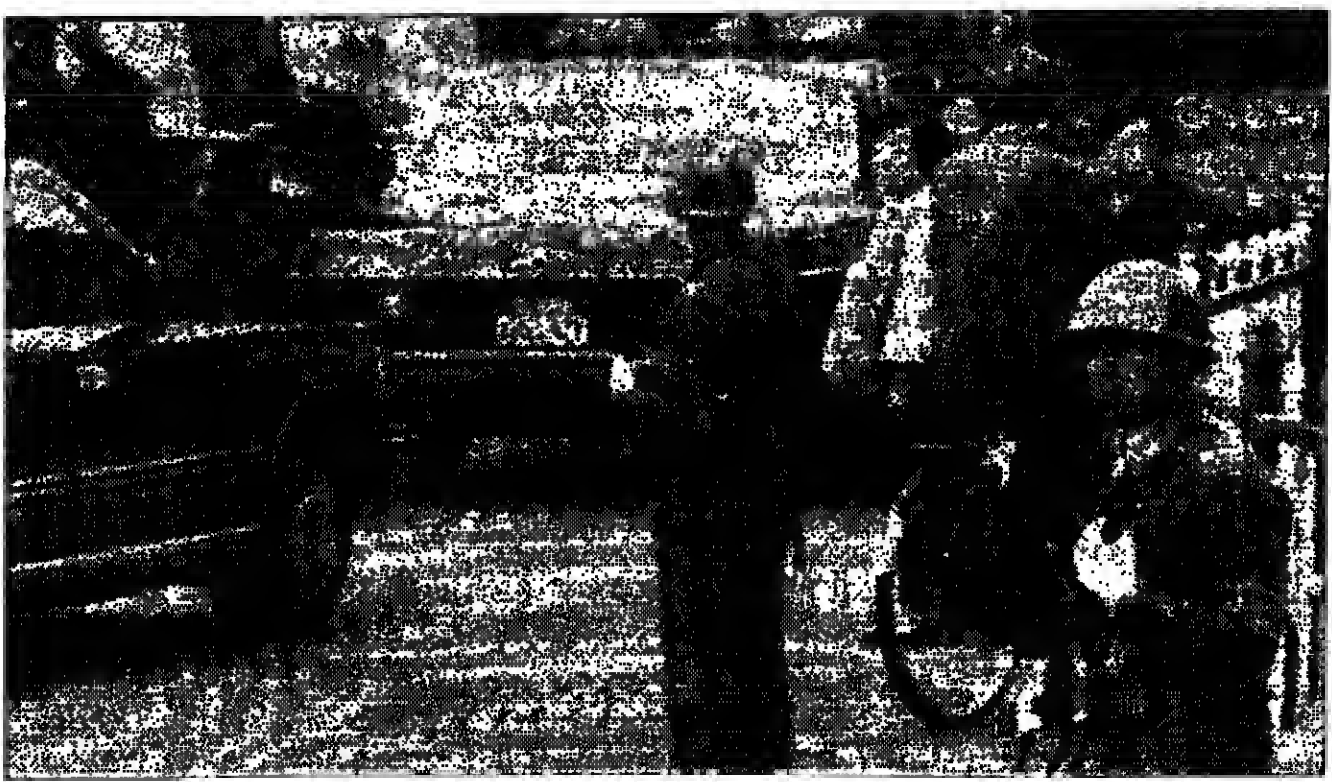
The proposals are designed to

virtually end air pollution in the United States in 20 years.

The bill, marking Mr. Bush's first major environmental initiative, seeks by the year 2000 to nearly vanquish the high levels of ozone in scores of U.S. cities today, halve emissions of the key ingredient of acid rain killing lakes and forests and significantly reduce releases of cancer-causing industrial pollutants.

"The wounded winds of north, south, east and west can be purified and cleansed, and the integrity of nature can be made whole again," Mr. Bush said in a White House

See BUSH, Page 2



People's Liberation Army troops standing guard at an intersection in central Beijing as many people returned to work on Monday.

Ebony 'Report' on Nigeria: Stranger Than Fiction

By Kenneth B. Noble
New York Times Service

LAGOS — One of the most sought-after publications in Nigeria is the May issue of a U.S. magazine, Ebony.

As the story is told here, Ebony has uncovered evidence that the head of Nigeria's military government, Major General Ibrahim Babangida, has nearly \$700 million in the bank, making him the world's seventh wealthiest leader.

His wife, Maryam, the magazine is said to report, owns the "largest and best boutique in Paris" and together they own the "largest Swiss diamond-quartz watch factory" and a private school in Zurich.

But is it true?

"Absolute nonsense," said Yusufu Maman, a spokesman for General Babangida.

"All you need to do is get the magazine to see that it is all lies."

In fact, the article does not exist. Nevertheless, thousands of leaflets recently distributed here retold the allegations under the headline "Nigeria Must Hear This."

The leaflets said that General Babangida seized power in a 1983 coup "to save himself from being sacked from the army and Maryam being tried for drug peddling."

"You can't go anywhere without people talking about it," said Frank Aigbogun, news editor of The Vanguard, a prominent Nigerian newspaper.

"And more than 90 percent of them believe the rumors. In fact, you could subject yourself to being mobbed if you said it was untrue."

The general's spokesman said, "Unfortunately,

people are willing to believe these lies because copies of the magazine aren't available."

Indeed, although Ebony is widely known here as a leading chronicle of black U.S. culture — copies are often seen circulating through Nigerian living rooms — the magazine has been virtually impossible to find.

Carol Wilder, a press attaché with the U.S. Information Service here, said demand for the elusive issue was so great that the U.S. Embassy called Johnson Publications in Chicago, the magazine's publishers, to find out if rumors of the report was true.

The embassy assured Nigerians that no such article has ever been published in the magazine. The 214 pages in Ebony's May issue, in fact, contain stories on Bill and Hillary Clinton, "the First Family of Phi-

lanthrop"; Smokey Robinson's disclosures on how infidelity and drugs destroyed his marriage; and an Ebony readers' poll, "Who's Who, Who's Not in 1989."

Nowhere, however, is there any mention of Nigeria. Africa's most populous nation, and not one word about General Babangida.

Nonetheless, the impact of the Ebony hoax on Nigeria's politics is expected to be profound.

"Nigerians are suspicious people," said a prominent public figure, noting that rumors of corruption and personal enrichment have dogged the public careers of countless Nigerian politicians.

"They tend to believe that where there's smoke there's fire. And the timing of the

See EBONY, Page 7

Continuing U.S. Deficit 'Deplorable,' BIS Says

By Carl Gewirtz
International Herald Tribune

BASEL — Policymakers in the leading industrial countries are mistaken in emphasizing exchange-rate stability over the reduction of trade imbalances, the Bank for International Settlements said Monday. It warned that this policy was causing enormous capital flows to such currencies as the dollar.

The BIS also said that the Group of Seven industrialized countries' current course risks renewed inflation and protectionism, and could lay the groundwork for a financial crisis.

The major policy fault, one that the BIS has hammered at repeatedly in past reports, is the continuing huge U.S. budget deficit, which is seen as feeding the large deficit in its international trade in goods and services.

"The lack of significant further progress" to reduce the budget deficit "is deplorable," the report stated.

The Bank for International Settlements is owned by 28 central banks, not including the U.S. Federal Reserve System. It traditionally uses its annual report to speak boldly on economic issues.

The BIS fanned all of the Group of Seven — the United States, Ja-

pan, West Germany, France, Britain, Italy and Canada — for "a policy of sustaining rather than of reducing current-account imbalances" and called for "more flexibility in official exchange-rate arrangements."

The current account measures a country's trade in goods and ser-

ices as well as interest, dividends and certain transfers.

The thinking behind the BIS recommendation is to induce a feeling of vertigo among dollar-based investors: The higher the dollar is allowed to rise, the theory goes, the greater would be the risk of the subsequent fall. This increased risk should inhibit foreign investors from buying dollars just for the relatively high interest rate.

Alexandre Lamfalussy, the general manager of BIS, said in his conclusion to the annual report that swift U.S. action on the deficit would simultaneously benefit the country and the rest of the world.

He rejected U.S. arguments, reiterated by Treasury Secretary Nich-

See BIS, Page 17

Kiosk

Reagan to Get Royal Honor

LONDON (AP) — Former President Ronald Reagan has accepted the offer of an honorary knighthood, the highest royal honor Britain bestows on Americans, Burke's Peerage said Monday.

Mr. Reagan, who is in London on his first visit since leaving the White House in January, is to be the guest of Queen Elizabeth II at a Buckingham Palace lunch on Wednesday.

General News

The U.S. Supreme Court ruled that whites can challenge earlier bias rulings. Page 2.

The Jamaican prime minister is seeking European help to fight drug trafficking. Page 3.

Israelis reject an Egyptian offer to act as mediator in the Palestinian uprising. Page 6.

Business/Finance

A Japanese company said it would buy a stake in a North Sea oil field. Page 13.

Stock index options began trading in Japan for the first time. Page 13.

Crossword Page 8.

Dow Jones	The Dollar
DM	2.02
Yen	152.95
Up	5.42
Down	148.80
FF	6.846

From Fingerprinting to Gene Profiling: The FBI Takes a Closer Look

By Andrew H. Malcolm
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — The Federal Bureau of Investigation has begun using a revolutionary laboratory identification process that is considered the most important breakthrough in forensic science since fingerprinting.

The procedure, called DNA profiling, had been confined until recently to very few cases handled by some private laboratories.

But now, by using the FBI laboratory, any police department in the United States can obtain positive identification of a suspect based on the unique genetic material in each small specimen of blood, semen, or other fluids or tissues.

The process has affected more than 200 police investigations, some of them in surprising ways.

Developed in Britain in the early 1980s at the University of Leicester by Dr. Alec J. Jeffreys, DNA profiling has been applied to forensics in Britain for the last 36 months.

The FBI began widespread use of the technique after concluding a year of practical tests in December.

Although defense lawyers in a New York murder case are challenging the technique and interpretation of a DNA profile by a private laboratory two years ago, the basic science has gone almost unquestioned in more than 80 court cases in the last two years.

In the New York case, involving the murder of Vilma Ponce of the Bronx and her 2-year-old daughter, numerous scientists challenged a DNA profile done by Lifecodes Corp. of Valhalla, New York, on a bloodstain found on the watch of the defendant, Joseph Castro.

FBI officials said that the basic technique was not under challenge, but rather a technique that is no longer used.

Although the DNA process can help in homicide cases, it is most useful in sex crimes, usually the hardest to solve. Only half of reported rapes end in arrests and only 44 percent of those arrested are convicted.

Ultimately, the FBI laboratory and other institutions expect to be able to reconstruct a descriptive physical profile of a criminal — including hair and eye color — by unlocking the genetic codes in

specimens as small as a single hair or a drop of blood.

The laboratory, at the FBI headquarters in Washington, has received more than 220 specimens from its agents and police departments around the United States since it began using the technique in January.

Final reports for the first 80 cases suggest that the precision and easy availability of DNA profiling is helping to shorten, direct and even reopen criminal investigations.

The technology is considered even more important than fingerprinting because such biological evidence as hair or skin is found at the scene of a crime more often than fingerprints.

In those cases, 50 profiles positively tied the suspect directly to the crime. In 20 cases the tests ruled out the initial suspect, while the evidence in 10 cases was either too small or too decayed to be used.

But the technology has raised concerns. Civil libertarians say that it may become routine or required for some or all segments of society.

Colorado, for instance, requires that

those convicted of sex offenses undergo the DNA test before they are released.

While the planned national computerized bank of DNA profiles could help track criminals, identify lost children or human remains and determine paternity, the information pool could provide employers and insurance companies with confidential information on prospective employees or customers.

DNA, or deoxyribonucleic acid, is found in every cell. Different in each person, it forms genes and carries the code for heredity.

Enough DNA can be found for the test in the root of a hair or in small skin samples, such as those sometimes found under the fingernails of a murder victim.

"It may seem amazing," said Kenneth W. Nimmich, special agent in the FBI's Laboratory Division, "but we're now doing DNA profiling routinely every day. In our opinion, it's the biological equivalent of fingerprinting, the closest to a positive personal identification of anything to date."

In one serial rape case this spring, police in Florida came to the FBI with vaginal swabs from seven women, seeking

to pinpoint one man as their prime suspect in seven similar crimes.

After 45 to 60 days of tests the FBI gave the local police a report that reshaped their investigation.

"We told them our suspect did five of the rapes," Mr. Nimmich said, "but they better also look for two other copycats."

The process is considered the biggest advance in forensics since the turn of the century, when Sir Edward Richard Henry discovered how human fingerprints could be used to identify criminals.

The process could save money by shortening police investigations. Because of its precision, it also could increase conviction rates.

Fingerprints are unique to each individual. But within a person's DNA are many other physical traits, including indicators of whether hereditary diseases are likely to develop.

The profiling is done by extracting the DNA from cells and cutting it into small pieces. Radioactive probes are added and they combine with certain repetitive sequences of the four nucleotides that are DNA's building blocks.

When exposed to film over several days, the result is a pattern similar to grocery-store bar codes.

If sufficient probes are applied, a genetic pattern emerges that scientists say is unique to one person among millions or even billions.

This is most helpful in positively identifying sex offenders. In homicides DNA profiling usually can only place a suspect at the scene.

The FBI accepts specimens for DNA profiling in violent personal crimes with a specific suspect or in serial rapes or child molestations for which there is no suspect.

Another procedure under research enables lab workers to take specimens with inadequate amounts of DNA and force a biological replication of the same material until enough DNA is produced to study patterns.

Thus, a wad of gum, a cigarette butt, a sweat stain or even a few cells deposited on the back of a postage stamp from the saliva of a kidnapper mailing a ransom note would be sufficient to construct a person's unique DNA profile.

Money and Science: Conflicts of Interest

By Warren E. Leary
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — U.S. scientists, administrators and lawmakers are increasingly worried that the lure of money threatens to compromise the quality and conduct of scientific and medical research.

Alarmed by a few notable cases in which the objectivity of scientists has been called into question, colleges and universities are issuing or revising rules intended to prevent conflicts of interest.

Some institutions fear that if they do not act, the government will intervene.

Although the credibility of the vast bulk of research is not under challenge, critics are asking whether growing financial incentives for scientists will dictate research priorities, impede the sharing of information, promote fraudulent work and increase conflicts of interest.

The institutions taking steps to prevent financial influence on research projects include Harvard, Stanford, Tufts and other major universities, the Association of American Universities, the National Institutes of Health and a subcommittee of the House Government Operations Committee.

In a case that came to light last year, Harvard said that a doctor at an affiliated hospital had violated university rules by subjecting hundreds of patients to tests of an eye treatment in which he had a financial interest.

In other recent cases, a doctor at the University of Pittsburgh accepted more than \$225,000 from drug companies whose product he was testing, and doctors involved in testing an experimental heart drug held stock or options in the company that made it.

"Over the last decade, the scientific community has become as much a world of business as scholarship," said Dr. Leonard Minsky, executive director of the National Coalition for Universities in the Public Interest, a nonprofit group affiliated with the consumer activist Ralph Nader.

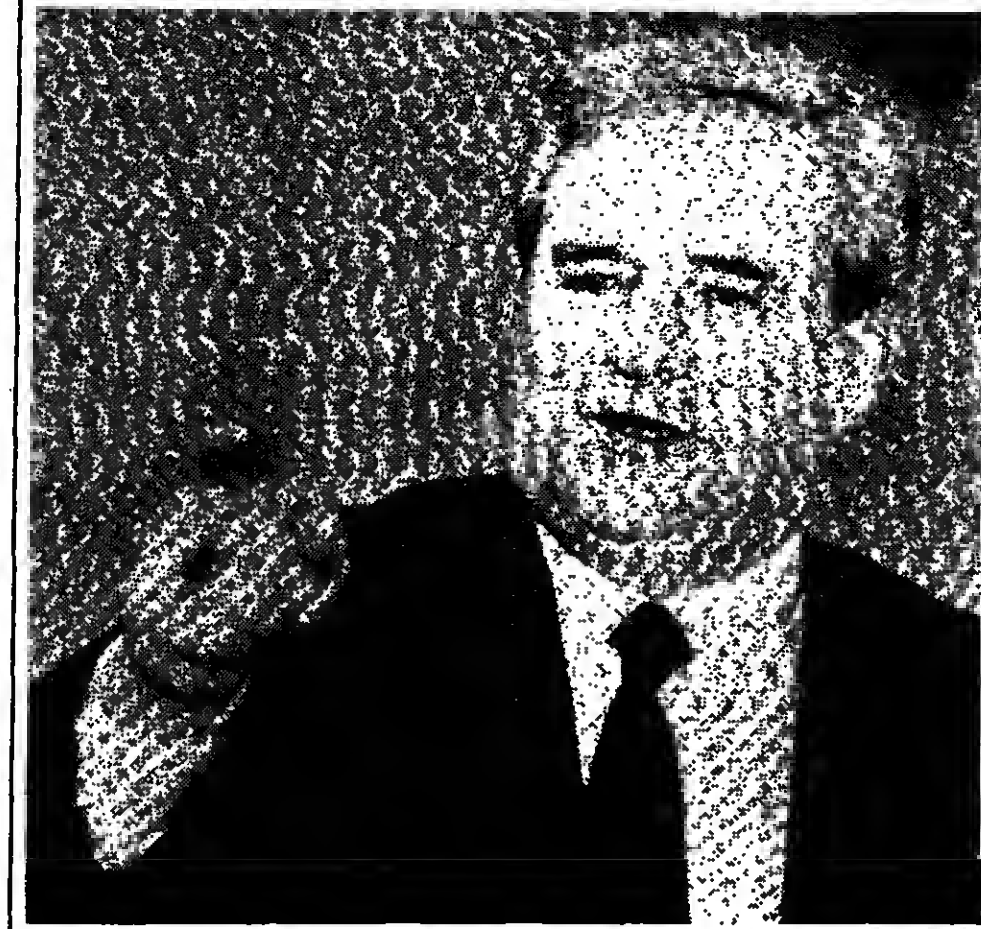
"If you make the ethics of science the same as Wall Street, you're going to corrupt science."

To counter potential conflicts of interest, many universities are developing or modifying guidelines. David Bray, dean of management and administration at Harvard Medical School, said the institution was reviewing its six-year-old guidelines because they were ignored by those involved in the eye study.

Stanford recently unveiled a tougher policy on consulting and outside activities. The guidelines require faculty members to tell their department heads regularly about their consulting activities.

The policy also restricts the buying of equipment or services from companies in which faculty members have an interest.

Last month the Association of American Universities, representing most major research institutions, began a study that will develop a conflict-of-interest guideline model for its members.



MORAL MAJORITY DISBANDED — The Reverend Jerry Falwell announcing that Moral Majority, the organization of the religious right that he founded in 1979, is being disbanded. "I feel that I have performed the task to which I was called," he said at the Southern Baptist convention in Las Vegas. "The religious conservatives in America are now in for the duration."

Maoist Rebellion Is Accelerating in Peru

By James Brooke
New York Times Service

HUANCAYO, Peru — Starting from a small nucleus in the Andes, a Communist guerrilla movement has steadily grown in strength in the 1980s and now threatens Peru's coastal cities.

In mid-May, about a million people here obeyed an "armed strike" order by the Shining Path movement, stopping work for three days in Peru's mining and farming heartland.

In a major test of their long-term strategy of cutting off the Peruvian capital from the countryside, the Maoist guerrillas of Sendero Luminoso, or the Shining Path, cut all supplies of food, electric power and export minerals from three Andean provinces to Lima on the Pacific coast.

"Shining Path is no longer a small regional movement," said Enrique Bernales, a socialist senator in Lima who heads a congressional commission of inquiry on terrorism. "It can now cut the umbilical cord of Peru."

accounted for 4 percent of Peruvian territory, 3 percent of the population, and 2 percent of the gross national product.

After nine years and 13,560 deaths, the situation has radically changed.

Half of Peruvians now live in emergency zones in which the army is given wide powers to combat the guerrillas.

"Basically, no area is Sendero-free," a Western diplomat in Lima said.

The guerrillas have won outright control of Peru's Upper Huallaga Valley, the source of almost half of the cocaine consumed in the United States. In this "red zone," they have won the support of coca growers by executing thieves and by forcing Colombian coca manufacturers to pay Peruvian growers higher prices for coca base.

In return, the Shining Path is believed to exact a tax on the \$500 million in coca sales that take place in the valley annually.

So far, the guerrillas have fought largely with dynamite stolen from mines and with guns seized from slain policemen and soldiers. But the new war chest is expected to allow the guerrillas to fight in the 1990s with better weapons.

Of equal strategic importance is their spreading influence in three key provinces south of the coast area: Huancayo, Pisco, and Junin. That region is the sole source of electric power for Lima's 7 million inhabitants. It is a major source of food in a nation that imports about \$300 million in food a year. The region also accounts for half of Peru's mineral production, largely zinc, copper, lead, and silver.

Some officials are now advocating "drastic measures." In the context of Latin American counterinsurgency wars, the phrase has often

meant detention without trial, torture, and summary execution.

At City Hall, Mayor Ricardo Bohorquez Hernandez advocated a different approach.

"While we have poverty, while we have unfair distribution of wealth, alternatives like Sendero will always rise up," said the mayor, who was shot four times in the chest by a Sendero assassination team in January. "Only economic development — water, sewers, schools — will take away the flags of Sendero Luminoso."

Recognizing that development could eventually defuse their movement, the guerrillas have sought to drive out Peruvian and foreign aid groups.

In December, the Shining Path detained a Frenchman and a Frenchwoman who were working on an irrigation, carpentry, and forestry development project in a village in Apurimac province. After a brief "people's trial," the guerrillas cut the aid workers' throats.

The guerrillas have had little success taking over Lima's mainstream Marxist industrial unions, either through infiltration or assassination. Lima's disorganized shantytowns, many flooded with war refugees, may prove to be more fertile recruiting ground.

But, reflecting a sharpening ideological polarization in Peru, the Shining Path for many coastal Peruvians is not 1960s Maoism, but the open market, an economic model adopted in the late 1980s by Chile. Many Peruvians are envious of Chile's low inflation, hard currency, and success in attracting foreign investment.

Mario Vargas Llosa, the novelist, is running for president on a free-market platform. Although Peru's presidential elections are a year away, Mr. Vargas Llosa has a comfortable lead in public-opinion polls.

But the Shining Path and another guerrilla group, the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement, have vowed to disrupt elections. The first elections, for city offices in November, will provide a clear map of rebel influence in the nation. With mayors across the Andes resigning because of guerrilla death threats, it is believed that the guerrillas will block voting in 20 percent of municipalities.

"Senders will kill the candidates," said Nelson Mancera, the historian who has become a "senderologist" — a booming field of academic research here.

"They want a coup d'etat," he said. "Then people will have to choose between Sendero Luminoso and the army."

After a spate of coup rumors in January, however, the military is believed to have decided to allow Mr. Garcia to finish his term in July 1990. In an election year, deep rivalries are keeping civilian politicians from reaching a consensus on how to fight the guerrillas.

G.W. Beadle, Geneticist, Dies at 85

By Glenn Fowler
New York Times Service

George W. Beadle, 85, a geneticist who won a Nobel prize in 1958 and was president of the University of Chicago from 1961 to 1968, has died of Alzheimer's disease in Pomona, California.

Mr. Beadle was awarded the Nobel Prize in Medicine and Physiology for his work in demonstrating how genes control the basic chemistry of the cell. He was then chairman of the biology division at the California Institute of Technology.

He shared the prize with Edward L. Tatum of the Rockefeller Institute and Dr. Joshua Lederberg of the University of Wisconsin.

Less than three years after receiving the Nobel prize, Mr. Beadle became the seventh president of the University of Chicago, where he taught biology until 1975.

In the early 1940s at Stanford University, Mr. Beadle and Mr. Tatum demonstrated that genes transmit hereditary characteristics.

Mr. Beadle and Mr. Tatum's studies were cited by the Nobel prize jury for having made understandable a variety of effects in animal and plant cells. The discoveries led to the increased production of penicillin during World War II.

José López Rega, 72, Aide and Minister Under Perón

BUENOS AIRES (NYT) — José López Rega, 72, the strongman in the last years of the Perón government, died of a heart attack on Friday in a prison hospital.

Mr. López Rega was extradited from the United States in 1986 after living in hiding for a decade. He had been accused of siphoning off millions of social welfare dollars, but still faced charges of leading rightist death squads.

Mr. López Rega was a bodyguard of General Juan D. Perón in the 1950s. In 1965, he became Perón's private secretary in Madrid. When Perón regained power in 1973, he was appointed as social welfare minister and key adviser.

In 1974, Mr. López Rega became the secretary of Perón's widow, Isabel. Mr. López Rega forced opposition politicians, military figures and labor leaders to come to terms with him by establishing himself as the only conduit to the president.

Sandinista Foe Returns to Managua

New York Times Service

MANAGUA — After seven years in exile, a leading member of the anti-Sandinista guerrilla directorate has returned to an enthusiastic opposition welcome to take an active role in national elections scheduled for February 1990.

Alfredo César, who has been mentioned as a potential candidate for the presidency, was met by a cheering throng of more than 2,000 flag-waving supporters and led them in a march to the headquarters of his small Social Democratic Party.

His homecoming Sunday gave the strongest indication to date that rebel leaders will support the electoral process, which is aimed at bringing an end to the eight-year contra war.

Mr. César has long been considered the most moderate member of the contra directorate.

He denied that he would be a candidate for office, saying that he wanted only to "reintegrate himself" into his party and to help forge a united opposition.

Mr. César is the first top-level leader of the resistance to come back and join the civic opposition.

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Jamaican Leader Seeks Europe's Aid on Drugs

By Richard Berry
International Herald Tribune

PARIS — Prime Minister Michael N. Manley of Jamaica said Monday that he would seek European support for an international force, including paramilitary action against drug traffickers, to stop the flow of narcotics from the Caribbean region.

At the start of a five-nation European tour that will also include discussions of Jamaica's \$4.5 billion foreign debt, Mr. Manley said that as markets for illegal narcotics in North America reach saturation, European governments must confront the reality that drug cartels will seek new outlets.

Mr. Manley said that his plan would include efforts to stop the flow of cocaine and marijuana, coordinated policies to eradicate crops in drug-producing countries and the possibility of multinational military action against suppliers.

"The concept that we have is first of all to ask the United Nations to set up a group to consider how we might create a convention on drug trafficking similar to the convention on hijacking," he said.

"What our experience shows us is that the drug problem is no longer even remotely a national or even a bilateral problem. The drug cartel has become completely international. At this moment, they regard the United States market as saturated with cocaine. What are they doing? They are targeting Britain and Western Europe."

"Their agents are out now to try to push cocaine into what they regard as a new target of opportunity. When you are dealing with people that are operating globally, our feeling is that you have to develop a global capacity to respond to it."

The idea of foreign military involvement against drug rings has been resisted by most Latin American and Caribbean leaders, although it has strong backing from the United States.

Jamaica, long a source of marijuana, has more recently become a major transshipment point for cocaine moving to North America, according to the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration.

"I am determined to try to smash it," Mr. Manley said. "At least there's one Third World leader who is determined to try to smash it because it will destroy my country."

The prime minister said that he supports efforts by President George Bush to force the removal of General Manuel Antonio Noriega, the Panamanian military leader who is under indictment in the United States on drug charges.

He said that the Socialist International plans to suspend Panama if General Noriega is still in power when the group meets next month in Stockholm.

"There is very real interest among the Caribbean leadership," in the proposal for an international narcotics force, he said.

He added that he would attempt to gain support for the idea during talks with Prime Ministers Michel Rocard of France, Margaret Thatcher of Britain, Felipe Gonzalez of Spain and other leaders.

Mr. Manley, who defeated Edward P. G. Seaga in national elections in February, was prime minister from 1972 to 1980. That period was marked by tense relations with the United States and doctrinaire Socialist policies that frightened some international investors and led to an exodus of educated Jamaicans from the island.

Mr. Manley now appears to have substantially altered his sturdiness. During his first term, the prime minister answered critics of state-controlled economic policies by pointing out that "five flights a day leave Jamaica for Miami."

On Monday, he said that his government planned to set up offshore banking facilities to allow expatriate Jamaicans to return and invest in the island with full convertibility of the Jamaican dollar.

Pressed on his shift in views and his often quoted statement that he favored dismantling capitalism "brick by brick," Mr. Manley said: "I perhaps overstated my position."

"I, like many other Socialists, have had to go back to the drawing board and rethink a lot of things and have come to the conclusion that we greatly overestimated the capacity of the state to be an effective force in production."

"We will operate best if we have a friendly cooperative relationship with a dynamic private sector that you set free to drive the productive engine."

Swiss Ban Trading in Ivory

Reuters

BERN — Switzerland announced Monday that it would ban trading in ivory in January, joining governments around the world in trying to protect the elephant. The World Wide Fund for Nature estimates that the number of African elephants has been more than halved in the last decade from 1.5 million to 625,000.

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Pakistan's prime minister, Benazir Bhutto, has rightly won U.S. backing for a new Afghanistan policy that combines aid to the guerrillas with negotiations. She has also gained, and merits, the benefit of the doubt on her assurances that Pakistan does not intend to develop nuclear weapons. Hard questions remain, but not about her poise and persuasiveness.

For a decade, Washington's overriding concern in Pakistan has been to punish and help repel the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The Carter and Reagan administrations found a solid, if autocratic, partner in the former president, Mohammad Zia ul-Haq, who overthrew Benazir Bhutto's father, Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

After General Zia's death in August in a still-unexplained air accident, his successors honored a promise of free elections. Miss Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party won the largest bloc of seats, and was able to form a coalition government. Meanwhile, Mikhail Gorbachev was honoring a pledge of his own, to withdraw Soviet troops from Afghanistan by Feb. 15. Yet none of this seemed to register in Washington, which stuck to a one-track military policy, as if General Zia still ruled and the Soviets were still bombing Afghan villages.

Miss Bhutto has persuaded President Bush to follow a two-track policy. She accepts the need to continue arming the Afghan resistance so long as the Soviets keep arming their clients in Kabul. She also recognizes the futility of seeking a battlefield solution, wisely pressing for a negotiated end to what is now a civil war.

Her plan is to seek a broadly based interim regime, excluding Soviet puppets as well, as fundamentalist zealots. To show her seriousness, she has removed the head of Pakistan's powerful military intelligence, Lieutenant General Hamid Gul, point man of the old Zia policy of favoring the most fiery fundamentalists.

Her approach would put the onus for prolonging the war on Moscow if it insisted that its man in Kabul, Major General Najib, must serve in an interim coalition. That, Miss Bhutto argues tellingly, would amount to demanding the bargaining table while Soviet arms failed to secure on the battlefield. Soviet diplomats already privately acknowledge, to Western counterparts, that General Najib is indeed the problem, not part of a solution.

On nuclear matters, Miss Bhutto repackages familiar arguments. She pledges that Pakistan will not make a nuclear weapon. But she rejects on-site inspections so long as India rejects them as well. In any case, she makes the point that Washington has its own means of verification.

Miss Bhutto's arguments are fair. More to the point, she has a claim on American backing. She adheres to democracy and moderation in an Islamic world that can benefit from examples of both.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

Questions linger about the Bush administration's newly revealed decision to arm Prince Sihanouk and the non-Communist resistance in Cambodia. The stated rationale for the new aid is that it will strengthen the prince in the political struggle that is picking up steam as Vietnam moves toward withdrawing its troops by Sept. 30.

As it happens, the prince, who has blown hot and cold on aid, says he is well supplied by China, does not need American help and will not fight in any civil war that resumes as Vietnam retires. In any event, no one believes that American rifles will make him a battlefield factor. Vietnamese withdrawal will leave only two serious military forces in Cambodia, the Hun Sen government set up by Vietnam and the Khmer Rouge of Pol Pot. Both are suspect as Communists and for being beholden to a foreign power — Hun Sen to Hanoi and Moscow, the Khmer Rouge to Beijing. But there is a huge difference between them. The policies of Hun Sen are repressive and stultifying. The policies of the Khmer Rouge are lethal. The Khmer Rouge are mass murderers, true fanatics; They killed a million or more Cambodians during the 1970s.

Here lies the problem. The first goal of U.S. policy ought to be to diminish and contain the Khmer Rouge. But the prince, though he is a symbol of Cambodian nationalism and is not a Communist, is a coalition partner of the Khmer Rouge and vulnerable to being used by them. In arming him, America risks becoming of value to the Khmer Rouge, at one remove.

The administration has now undertaken to move Cambodia aid from the overt category to the covert: from the loquacious foreign relations committees of Congress to the intelligence committees, where nothing need or can be said. But it has made an indirect but public acknowledgment of an ostensibly secret aid program.

The issue may sound like a close argument over political nuances, but the implications of aid are immense and cannot be ignored. Compared with China and the Soviet Union, the United States has only a modest role in Cambodia. It should use what influence it has to promote a cut-off of all foreign military assistance and a political settlement, rather than to send in rifles under conditions that could make the United States an indirect ally of the genocidal Khmer Rouge.

—THE WASHINGTON POST

Military cuisine was once a process whereby they put something on your aluminum tray and you ate it. It is not quite that simple anymore. Consider the matter of chocolate chip cookies.

At a recent Capitol Hill hearing on military procurement and the complicated regulations that drive away some small contractors, Senator William S. Cohen, Republican of Maine, cited the Pentagon specifications as to what sort of commercially made cookies are suitable for the American serviceman. The specifications run to 15 pages and include the following:

"Type I, oatmeal, with chocolate chips. The cookies shall be baked to a light tan and browned on the bottom surface and outer edges, but not appreciably browned on the top surface. They shall be wholly intact, free of checks or cracks ... The cookies shall be tender and crisp with an appetizing flavor, free of a burnt or scorched flavor."

Also this: "Type II, sandwich. Each cookie shall consist of two round base cakes with a layer of filling between them. The weight of a cookie shall be not less than 21.5 grams with the filling weighing not less than 6.4 grams. The base cakes shall have been uniformly well-baked with a color ranging from not lighter than chip 27885 or darker than chip 13711 ... The color comparisons shall be made under ... sky daylight with the objects held in such a way as to avoid specular reflectance (glossiness) ... The filling shall be centered so that it does not protrude beyond the perimeter of the base cake ..."

At this point a series of images came to mind. One is of a full column somewhere in the Pentagon laboriously measuring the fillings of a Hydrox and then an Oreo and all the while muttering incredulously, "This is not what they said I would be doing when they taught me about bases and perimeters back at Fort Benning." The other is of a soldier ducking an aluminum tray hurled at him by a mess sergeant who didn't mind the complaints about the food but was mortally offended by the implication that he had engaged in specular reflectance.

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

The Rape of Beijing

Just how China can stretch back to stability and growth is an extremely troubling question. If the armed forces were divided over the suppression, then it may be that China is in for a terrible reprise of the warring states. More likely is that enough rational leaders remained to perceive that the nation would be committing suicide if that happened: *degeneracy into worldism, maybe, or at the least a tragic forfeiture of modern China's hard-earned position in the world. . . . It's no surprise that the remnants of the old regime in Vietnam, led by itself, endorse the rape of Beijing. Hanoi's own future is now written in gore on the wall. Leninism first outlived whatever practical utility it had, and now in Asia it's lost its soul. Reformism has been a variety of drug used to keep China from recognizing how much it remained in the grip of a political dead hand. It was a comforting sedative, possibly necessary even, so long as the nation was slowly regaining its health. But now the sickness is too deep, the drug will not be the cure. If they see no way out, civil intelli-*

In Hong Kong, Taiwan and Cambodia, years of patient Chinese diplomacy are threatened by the horror of the past week. The impact reaches Thailand, eager to get the investment that China might lose, and even to Japan, where the Hokkaido Takushoku Bank has suspended talks on construction of facilities for next year's Asian Games in Beijing. It is in East Asia that the worst of the damage will be done. The colony is due to become "an inalienable part of the People's Republic of China" on July 1, 1997, and Canadian, Australian and other consulates are overwhelmed with immigration requests from Hong Kong people trying to get out. The British government wallows in hypocrisy as it seeks justification for denying entry to the United Kingdom to more than one million ethnic Chinese in the colony holding British passports. China cannot have an earthquake without all of Asia, indeed all the world, feeling the tremors. It is an earthquake that could force China into a great leap backward . . .

— *The Baltimore Sun.*

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 Editor for Asia: Michael Richardson, 5 Canterbury Rd, Hong Kong 0511. Tel: 474-7278. Tel: RSS69028
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By Anthony Lewis

BOSTON — Communism as a political idea, a movement claiming a hold on the minds of men and women, has played a powerful part in world history for more than 70 years. That period came to an end last week.

Events in China and Poland demonstrated what must be the foundation of any political system's legitimacy. In Poland, a Communist Party for the first time allowed its popular support to be tested in an honest national vote — and was overwhelmingly, humiliatingly rejected.

In China, military force swept away the illusion of government with the consent of the governed.

Of course last week was not the first time that Communist regimes have been shown to rest not on popular consent but on tyranny.

But there was a historic finality about these latest dramas. In Poland the party was forced by economic crisis, and the crisis of authority, to make a deal with Solidarity. It had to abandon the usual subterfuges concealing the nature of its power. And it was seen to be an emperor with no clothes.

China was in an even more compelling story. For the People's Republic came to power in 1949 as the result of an undoubted popular revolution.

Western governments, eventually including the United States, accepted the legitimacy of the regime.

Now we see that the party has lost

its mandate in China, too. The people have made as clear as they can that they have no faith in the system under which they live.

The party can rely only by force, offering as an excuse for the murder of peaceful demonstrators Orwellian talk of "things" and counterrevolutionary plots.

Or, more accurately, we see that the Communist Party of China does not really exist — not as an institution with an enduring structure and values. It is simply a vehicle for the exercise of power by one individual or another. The struggle is for power. The rest is pretense — or was until the pretense was stripped away.

We in the West can see a number of things more clearly after these shattering events. One is how much we have at stake in Mikhail Gorbachev.

In Poland, what did not happen was as important as what did. The Soviet government did not intervene when a Communist regime moved to share power. The dog did not bark.

There could hardly be more convincing proof that Mr. Gorbachev is serious in his talk of change. Poland is the historic path for invasion of Russia. It is the most sensitive of all East European countries in terms of Soviet interests. If Mr. Gorbachev is pre-

pared to allow a genuine shift of power there, the hope of ending the Eastern West division in Europe is not fantasy.

But it all depends on whether change of so revolutionary a character can occur peacefully, gradually — without an explosion in Eastern Europe or the Soviet Union itself. That is the West's stake in Mr. Gorbachev.

China has its first of all in human terms. We saw those students, and the civil servants and ordinary people supporting them. We know how they are going to suffer if the present tyrannical grip is not loosened.

Last week I sat and talked with three Chinese students who are at U.S. universities. What struck me was not only their sadness, their tears, but their devotion to China.

"My father was a target in the anti-rightist campaign 30 years ago," one said. "He lost the most useful years of his life, when he could have contributed to China. Now I see that it is going to happen to me. Another generation will be lost."

The other thing brought home to me was the importance of enduring political institutions. China, those students said, has suffered because political power has for so long been personal, and change is so often violent. The United States has had territorial governments, but the constitutional structure endures.

The New York Times

WASHINGTON — After the Brussels jubilee session of the NATO council late last month, many commentators adopted the following thesis: President George Bush has taken the initiative in disarmament from Mikhail Gorbachev.

Such treatment of the matter seems to reflect an approach to disarmament talks as a propaganda undertaking, in which everyone is trying to score points, not pushing for specific reductions in arms or forces.

To the Soviet Union, it does not make any difference who takes the palm of leadership in advancing one idea or another. The important thing is that this idea would throw toward a final result of a reduction of mountains of arms and promote security.

It is from this standpoint that we appraise the initiatives announced by President Bush in Brussels.

We regard these initiatives as a response to a fuller and more than in others — to the proposals set forth by the Soviet Union, notably by Mr. Gorbachev in his New York speech in December and during his meeting

By Viktor P. Karpov

The writer is deputy minister of foreign affairs in the Soviet Union.

with Secretary of State James Baker, and by the Warsaw Pact delegations at the Vienna meeting on conventional arms reductions. We see them also as the result of the Bush administration's analysis of military-strategic and political-military problems.

We would hope for a similar response from the United States that might give impetus to the talks on questions of space weapons and compliance with the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, in drafting an agreement on 50 percent cuts in strategic offensive arms, in working out an underground nuclear test verification system and in banning chemical weapons and eliminating their stockpiles.

As for conventional armaments, a unique situation is taking shape that enables the parties not only to bring the positions at the Vienna talks closer, but to reach an agreement within a rather short time.

We want to complete the talks without delay. Six months sounds

good. If not, let it be a year. But it follows from the Brussels decision that Mr. Bush's ideas will not be transformed into specific NATO proposals until September, and so will not be put on the negotiating table in Vienna before then. This fact raises doubts concerning the deadline (six to 12 months) offered by the U.S. president for completing the talks.

And let us turn to the substance of the negotiations on conventional forces. Both the Warsaw Pact and Mr. Bush suggest the same levels of reduction in tanks and armored personnel carriers, while levels of reductions in artillery systems and helicopters are fairly close. Thus, one can hope for an early agreement in these fields.

The matter is more complex as far as reductions in aircraft. We consider unjustified the demand by the United States of a purely defensive weapon — fighter-interceptor aircraft, in the category of aircraft slated for reduction. There is a common understanding that

NEWPORT, Rhode Island —

President Carlos Aquino has said that in 1990 she will give Washington formal notice to terminate a longstanding agreement governing the U.S. military presence in the Philippines. A month earlier, the United States had agreed to give Manila \$962 million over two years, a sizable increase over what had been the \$1.2 billion a year sought by the Aquino administration.

Mrs. Aquino hedged her statement, saying she was keeping open her country's options. But the United States must take her threat seriously, says Alvin H. Bernstein, Manila is in a politically difficult position, and it should respond with a proposal for a phased withdrawal that gives the United States, the Philippines and the region time to adjust to a relocation of U.S. forces. Deference to this claim should begin when Mrs. Aquino

By Alvin H. Bernstein

the U.S. military, and the traditional oligarchs who still control the economic structures underlying political power in the country. Mrs. Aquino can only ignore these groups at her peril.

If the Manila government asks the Americans to leave, they will be tempted to retract their defense perimeter to the mid-Pacific. Such a retreat would have adverse consequences for the non-Communist nations of Southeast Asia and for the Philippines. Manila is a choke, the fragile economy of the Philippines would lose all the revenues the U.S. military presence brings it. The country would also stand to lose considerable foreign aid.

A precipitate U.S. withdrawal would be the worst solution. The best would be a long-term reversal

of the basing agreement but on a phased withdrawal. This agenda would remove domestic pressure from the Aquino government and reduce the possibility of damaging splits within her administration and between Manila and Washington.

This, above all, would buy time for Filipinos to put their economic house in order. It would curb the communist insurgency under control, and for America to fund and build the facilities necessary to maintain a viable Pacific strategy and ensure the security of Southeast Asia.

Manila should set the timetable for the withdrawal. It should deal with an eye to when and how best the Philippines can adjust financially to independence from American economic and security assistance. America would want time to spread the costs of relocation through the most feasible and as painless and worry with the countries

says that "foreign military bases on Philippine territory must be removed and no foreign military bases hereafter be allowed." The signers included Jose S. Dela Lanza, now president of the Senate, and Ramon Mitra, speaker of the House of Representatives. Many members of her cabinet also signed.

The Philippine Constitution requires an affirmative vote by two-thirds of the Senate to renew the bases agreement. A recent survey revealed that only a handful of senators would support such a treaty.

Segments of the political coalition that Mrs. Aquino forged under the banner of "People's Power" oppose the renewal. She is beholden to many groups in the government, including the military, progressive, left-of-center, nationalists, members of the intelligentsia — for whom the U.S. military presence is an unbearable reminder of the country's colonial past.

On the other side of the issue stand powerful forces that also have claims. They include the Philippine armed forces, economic groups that benefit from doing business with

that allowed the United States to feel secure about its tenure and was lucrative enough to persuade all but the Filipino military authorities and Congress to admit that their leaders had negotiated in the national interest. Yet Filipino feeling and the state of the U.S. economy may conspire to make this alternative the least likely.

How, then, can those concerned avert an outcome that will increase the expense and reduce the effectiveness of U.S. Pacific strategy, diminish the security of ASEAN — the Association of South East Asian Nations — delight the Communist insurgents in the Philippines and harm the country's economy?

First, the United States must understand that it cannot remain benign in the Philippines much beyond the end of the 1990s. America can neutralize its image as a postcolonial power by conceding that it does not intend to maintain its military presence indefinitely.

So the U.S.-Philippine negotiations in 1991 focus not on renewal

There is no question of Washington asking any one of them to replicate the Philippine facilities. Rather, the United States should seek a series of bilateral agreements that collectively would permit sufficient air and naval forces to remain in the region to preserve an effective deterrent strategy.

The time to discuss a change in the negotiating agenda is during President Aquino's visit to Washington, tentatively scheduled for the last quarter of this year. If Mrs. Aquino truly means to give the United States notice next year, she should now give other ASEAN countries that want a continuing U.S. military presence, the green light to open negotiations. Otherwise, she may leave them indifferent to prevent a gap from opening in the region's defenses.

The writer, who is chairman of the Strategy Department at the U.S. Naval War College, wrote this personal comment for the *International Herald Tribune*. His views do not represent those of any U.S. government agency.

What Deng and Li Can Never Win

BEIJING — As dawn broke on June 4, a Chinese tank rolled over a luminously white statue of a woman, her two arms holding a symbolic flame above her head, which had stood for 10 days in the heart of the capital. It is said on Beijing's campuses that the tank also crushed to death 11 students who had linked arms in a protective circle around the statue, a figure they called *minzhuzhishen*, the goddess of liberty.

It was a week of indescribable horror for the citizens of Beijing, for the people of China. The jubilation of weary weeks of pro-democracy protest was shattered by tanks and soldiers, guns of China's leadership pointing, the world now knows, responded to yearnings for liberty, for a freer society, with mass slaughter. This massacre, an act instigated by

By Edward A. Gargan

the brutal primal instincts of a Communist leadership honed not by debate but by discipline, not by compromise but by dictat, not by persuasion but by force, has profoundly, and in many ways indelibly, changed modern China.

In the past decade, volumes have been written depicting China as a nation that had found itself, a nation that had escaped the devastation of the Cultural Revolution, and was emerging as a society with values and virtues approaching those of the West. China was becoming a stable, modern country, one that recognized the need to adhere to international standards of behavior economically, as well as the more basic humanitarian principles accepted as an essential

That conviction, that feeling that history's momentum would carry them forward to a China of genuine liberties and freedoms, guaranteed not by the promises of self-appointed leaders, but by the institutions they created, spurred tens of thousands of students to demand those rights, and lured hundreds of thousands of Beijing citizens to follow.

Some of China's leaders seemed sympathetic to the students. But the men who controlled the levers of power, the army, the police, the secret police, the apparatus of state authority, refused to tolerate this challenge to their authority. The days of marches, the hunger strikes, the encampments on Tiananmen Square, were not, they determined, peaceful petition and protest. This was counterrevolution. This call for democracy and freedom

The doddering men had promised that China would never retreat.

was a threat to the survival of the Communist Party itself. And of course, these leaders were right.

Even as the tanks rumbled into Tiananmen Square, their headlights illuminating the frail line of unarmed students who stood determined and frightened before them, there were flickering signs that some in the army, some in the party, would never stomach the slaughter of civilians. But these voices of moderation were stifled by the rattle of assault rifles, the clatter of carted machine guns. Officially being called to overboard, the hospital determination that military dictatorship was preferable to reasoned discourse.

But the army had retaken the city. In the neighborhoods of Beijing, residents would point to ugly dark stains on sidewalks. "An old man was killed here," a fearful neighborhood resident would say, "shot in the head."

And now the army and police have turned their attention in earnest to the instigators of this "counterrevolution" — the men and women of China's universities and scholarly institutions, the people who had fashioned China's intellectual resurgence, its resurrection from the systematic tyranny over the mind. Columns of troops swept into the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences,

was a threat to the survival of the Communist Party and of the country. The leaders were right. Even as the tanks rumbled into Tiananmen Square, their headlights illuminating the frail line of unarmed students who stood determined and frightened before them, there were flickering signs that some in the army, some in the party, would never stomach the slaughter of civilians. But the tanks were not deterred, stiffed by the rattle of assault rifles, the clatter of cartloads of bodies frantically being pushed to overcrowded hospitals, the determination that military dictatorship was preferable to reasoned discourse.

But the army had broken the city. In the neighborhoods of Beijing, residents would point to ugly dark stains on sidewalks: "An old man was killed here," or "A young woman was killed here." A fearful neighborhood resident would say, "shot in the head."

And now the army and police have turned their attention in earnest to the instigators of this "counterrevolution" — the men and women of China's universities and scholarly institutions, the people who had fashioned China's intellectual resurgence, its resurrection from the systematic tyranny over mind, culture and troops ever since the Chinese August Revolution. Science, the home for many of the country's most progressive thinkers, and began a systematic search for "evidence" of counter-revolutionary activities.

100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1889: German Politics

BERLIN—Herr Overwinter, the champion of the new "Social Kingdom," or loyal Imperial Socialist party, has finally decided to stand for one of the Berlin seats at the next elections for the Reichstag. The new party has been formed to combat the Revolutionary Social Democrats, who have been steadily gaining strength in Berlin and elsewhere, and who have been opposed with any appreciable success only by the anti-Jewish Conservative extremists led by Count Chaplain Stoecker. The disappearance of that fanatic from political life, and the consequent disorganization of his party, seemed to give the Social Democrats their own way in the capital.

1914: American Capital

PEKING — President Yuan-Shih-Kai received Mr. Joseph Leiter, the Chicago capitalist, in audience today [June 12]. The president expressed himself as favoring the investment of

American capital in China on account of the more progressive American methods from an administrative standpoint, as evidenced by American institutions. He also expressed appreciation of the broad and liberal policy of the American Government in its present and past relations with the Chinese Government. This policy had established a feeling of confidence in American enterprise in China, which the Chinese would do all in their power to foster.

1939: Fairbanks's Plan

LOS ANGELES — Douglas Fairbanks Jr., in a statement today (June 12) urged that 1940 Presidential candidates present themselves to the public through feature-length biographical films. The actor's plan provides that prominent character actors act the candidates' roles from scenarios approved by a board of impartial biographers. "Doug" Jr. added that the cost of such films would amount to about \$100,000 each.

OPINION

Fang Lizhi: The Houseguest Is a Hero

By William Safire

WASHINGTON — America has a new houseguest. He is the astrophysicist Fang Lizhi, the Most Wanted man on the enemies list of the Second Cultural Revolution.

You can send him and his family a welcome note care of the U.S. Embassy in Beijing, where they are holed up under American protection. The asylum granted him has infuriated the Deng Xiaoping regime, already incensed at the way the Voice of America is undermining its Orwellian line that only soldiers, not unarmed students, were killed in the Tiananmen massacre.

No matter how it strains relations, the United States is not about to turn Mr. Fang over to this decade's version of the Red Guards. Under international law, that diplomatic compound is U.S. territory: if it were invaded, China would become an outpost nation, much like Aytollah Khomeini's Iran after the rape of the U.S. Embassy in Tehran.

America has extended its diplomatic hospitality at some length before, from persecuted Pentecostals and Jews in Moscow to Cardinal Joseph Mindszenty in Budapest; the Hungarian prelate was freed from Communist prison during the 1956 Hungarian uprising and remained America's guest — embarrassing the puppet regime — for 15 years.

America owes Mr. Fang a special welcome; he was the dissident invited to dinner with President Bush during his visit to Beijing in February. When Communist police harassed him, Mr. Bush made his first foreign-policy mistake in refusing to protest publicly.

Other Chinese patriots, imprisoned for years or now being hunted, have a claim to leadership in martyrdom, and the man the world saw trying to stop a column of tanks will always be etched in memory. But Mr. Fang is now the dissident in the fishbowl, the new Mindszenty, the next Nobel winner, publicized by official denunciation and protected by the United States.

This makes him one of the trio of the world's most famous dissidents — individuals who come to personify and symbolize freedom.

Last week, one of the trio, the Solidarity leader Lech Walesa, rose in power from dissident to opposition leader. The hero of the Gdansk shipyard strike — his activity harassed and declared unlawful for a decade in Poland, but steadfastly supported by courageous Poles and by organized labor in America — reached a new level in his climb to the official leadership of his nation.

Central to world support, and to the local power and protection that come from international celebrity, is the willingness of a charismatic individual to suffer, to cry out, to lead.

Like Sakharov and Walesa, he symbolizes freedom.

poor orator" and proved it with a mind-numbing lecture on the instability of the proton. But in Moscow last week, attacking the "aggressive obedience of the majority" to the smooth dictation of Mikhail Gorbachev, his non-Communist manifestos could be heard round the world.

"If you float downstream singing lullabies to yourselves," he told all the

sung deputies content with the trappings but not the reality of democracy. . . . the growing tension may explode in our society, bringing about the most dramatic consequences."

Then the great physicist tried an experiment in free speech that tested the

validity of glasnost: He started to urge an official expression of repugnance after the Tiananmen massacre, even to the recall of the Soviet ambassador.

The results of the Sakharov experiment were revealing: Mr. Gorbachev, who captivates the West with his forbearance in the face of personal criticism, will not accept free speech in the Soviet Congress on matters touching on his new prerogatives.

Mightily displeased, the Soviet leader reached for the button that controls the microphones and cut Mr. Sakharov off. So much for glasnost; on substance, the mike belongs to Mikhail.

Future historians, examining the decline of communism in the 1980s, will duly note names like Deng Xiaoping, Wojciech Jaruzelski and Mikhail Gorbachev as transitional figures who provoked, delayed or sought to avoid the inevitable counterrevolution.

Our grandchildren will be studying the dramatic change of primacy in most of the world from the lust for order and security to the yearning for freedom and opportunity. They will pay far greater attention to Mr. Fang, Mr. Walesa and Mr. Sakharov as the real newsmakers and authentic heroes of these times.

The New York Times.



As Mozart Proved, Being A Genius Is Not Enough

By Gian Carlo Menotti

CHARLESTON, South Carolina — Whenever I stage an operatic masterpiece, I come out of the experience enriched by new knowledge. "Le Nozze di Figaro" seems to be the one that amazes me the most. It quickly revealed to me how inaccurate the common image of Mozart is, now made popular by the play and film "Amadeus."

Perhaps in reaction to the 19th century concept of Mozart as a sugary, slightly effeminate Meissen figurine, the 20th

century reacted with an equally mistaken concept of a sophisticated Mozart: a sort of juvenile monster, a silly, frivolous, lascivious child who wrote his masterpieces hypnotically and almost effortlessly, simply because he was a genius. Is genius then defined by thinking as facile and simplistic as that which has been attributed to Mozart?

Alas, many artists these days think of themselves as geniuses, blessed with the golden touch. Whatever they touch becomes "art." Their only effort is to shock, to surprise and then to copyright their creation so that it may become quickly recognizable to the merchants and the buyers.

How very far we are from the genius of Mozart, who nearly buried his personality in conventional style, almost as if he sought anonymity so that his universal message could emerge in all its purity, uncontaminated by personal quirks. What makes his music recognizable from the thousands of works of the period is not only its miraculous appeal to the collective unconscious of what is most noble and sensitive in the human heart, but also the radiant intelligence that triggers this miracle.

No precocious child could ever master with equal force such a flood of inspiration. What moves one is not only the beauty of his melodic line but the intellectual skill with which he handles it, bends it to his will and the severity with which he imprisons it into the most restrictive classical tradition.

He does not ask for freedom as most artists do today. Instead, he uses such restrictions as a challenge, an intricate puzzle to be solved by careful thought. A childish, rather silly youngster? Nonsense! He was no "Amadeus." He was a musical philosopher, a careful musical architect, a disciplinarian, a tireless worker and, above all, a profound thinker. How, then, do you explain the silly scatological letters to his cousin or some of his puerile jokes?

To be sure, achievement is not to be denigrated. However, it is no panacea for feelings of inadequacy. History teaches that self-esteem cannot be earned. Its lesson is that love of others, not egoistic accomplishment, equates with love of self.

Howard S. Boros, Washington.

Let the artist then be as good a parent, as devoted a husband or wife, as responsible a citizen as art permits. An artist's life may seem selfish and irresponsible, but do we really care whether or not Michelangelo or Leonardo fought in patriotic wars, were kind to the needy or thoughtful to their families?

It is fashionable now to discover or try to understand artists by delving into their private lives rather than into their works. The artist is certainly as prone to weaknesses in his social life as any other human being. Must we then forgive the artist for his failures as a man?

It all depends on how great the artist is. I gladly forgive Goethe, Tolstoy, Michelangelo and Goya all their human sins in exchange for the splendors with which they have enriched the world — and because of the torment their work must have cost them. Mozart above all must have been an obsessive worker. One can easily distinguish the superficial, insipid pieces he occasionally penned from the works that required all his intellectual power.

The tendency today is to try to show that artists are just as "bad" as you and I, the only difference being that God has given them a mysterious talent that, however, they hardly deserve. Those people do not realize that the Platonic vision of beauty that the artist is privileged to receive is nothing more than a glimpse that then becomes a tormenting memory he must try to recapture. This search for remembered perfection requires hard work, patience, intelligence and complete dedication. A work of art is never finished, but, to paraphrase Paul Valéry, only abandoned.

Mozart rarely abandons his search and more often than not, with blinding intelligence and wisdom, he recreates his remembered vision of beauty in all its perfection. Be it a lesson to the lazy artists of today, who peddle their onanistic games as works of art. No great composer will again appear among us until the young are taught that being a genius is not enough.

The writer, a composer, recently staged Mozart's "Le Nozze di Figaro" at the Spoleto Festival U.S.A. He contributed this comment to The New York Times.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The Shock in Tiananmen

The Chinese students and the hundreds of thousands of citizens who have openly supported their courageous and nonviolent demonstrations have gained international admiration and respect. It is horrifying to see Chinese troops firing into peaceful crowds and murdering innocent people. Any government member who instigates or condones such behavior cannot represent the people; the officers and soldiers involved make a mockery of the principles upon which the People's Liberation Army was founded. They deserve the worldwide condemnation they are receiving.

Mrs. EDGAR SNOW, Eysins, Switzerland.

I am a Chinese student, presently studying in Harvard Divinity School. I am enormously shocked and stunned by the fiendish cruelties of the Chinese government. What a shame! What a terrible tragedy! I feel extremely weak and hopeless as well as indignant. Being a Christian, I will sincerely pray for my fellow countrymen who have died and are dying back at home.

ZHIQIANG WANG, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

People in democratic nations in Europe, Asia, Africa and the Americas must call upon their governments to condemn Deng Xiaoping and Li Peng with more than words and useless resolutions. The government of Deng and Li must be isolated internationally by every means available until that government has been exchanged for something

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Experience confirms that even societally applauded behavior does not engender self-respect. Lincoln, a rarely surpassed achiever, was chronically depressed, an indubitable symptom of low self-esteem. By contrast, Gandhi and his spiritual ancestors, who possessed an unrivaled sense of inner value, did not regard their efforts as personal achievements.

To be sure, achievement is not to be denigrated. However, it is no panacea for feelings of inadequacy. History teaches that self-esteem cannot be earned. Its lesson is that love of others, not egoistic accomplishment, equates with love of self.

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TRIPLE TAKE — Reacting in unison during a flag-raising ceremony Monday in Manila that marked the 91st anniversary of national independence were, from left, General Renato de Villa, the armed forces chief of staff; Luis Santos, a city official; and President Corason C. Aquino.

Britain Demands Release of Student in Shanghai

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

LONDON — Britain told China on Monday that it should immediately release a Hong Kong student arrested in Shanghai and warned that any mistreatment of Hong Kong Chinese would have damaging repercussions.

A spokesman for the Foreign Office said that a deputy undersecretary, David Gillmore, told the Chinese chargé d'affaires, Song Mingjiang, that Britain was gravely concerned over the detention of Yao Yongzhan. Mr. Yao was detained at Shanghai airport as he tried to leave on Sunday.

The spokesman said Britain had requested that Mr. Yao be immediately returned to Hong Kong.

He added, "Any mistreatment by the Chinese authorities of the Hong Kong Chinese would have

the most damaging impact on confidence in Hong Kong."

The detention of Mr. Yao has heightened fears in Hong Kong over the future of the British colony, which is to revert to Chinese control in 1997.

Foreign Office officials have raised the case with the authorities in Beijing, Shanghai and Hong Kong. But a spokesman said that London had not yet received a "satisfactory response."

Hundreds of students who led the recent pro-democracy protests in China, which ended in the killing of hundreds, possibly thousands, of civilians by Chinese Army troops in central Beijing on June 4, are being arrested by the authorities.

Mr. Yao, a student at Fudan University in Shanghai, was detained for carrying "banned mate-

rial" and for failing to register with the Public Security Bureau, state-run television there said Sunday. He is a leader of the Autonomous Union of Shanghai Universities and Colleges, which city authorities have asked be disbanded.

Meanwhile, foreign ministers of the European Community meeting in Luxembourg decided Monday that Chinese students in the 12 EC countries will be allowed to have their visas extended.

Foreign Minister Francisco Fernández Ordóñez of Spain said that the ministers had agreed to respond favorably to requests for extensions for students who fear violence in their homeland.

In another development, a BBC correspondent, Brian Barron, reported from Beijing that he and his film crew had been detained for three hours by troops and had been

barred from leaving the country. He said that the crew, who had been filming clandestinely from their car because of martial law restrictions, were taken to a martial law center where their videotapes were confiscated and their passports briefly taken away.

"They suggested that a number of us should write self-criticisms of our mistakes, which I did most eagerly," Mr. Barron said.

"Then they gave us an extremely severe talking-to on what would happen next time and how unpleasant the results would be."

In Hong Kong, a British television journalist expelled from China over the weekend said that authorities who seized him while he was covering a demonstration in Shanghai confiscated his film and would not allow him to contact the British Consulate.

Peter Newport of Independent Television News was the first journalist to be expelled from China since the beginning of pro-democracy demonstrations.

On Sunday, a U.S. television network, ABC, said that the Chinese authorities had confiscated footage of an ABC interview with a man in Beijing, broadcast the tape on national television and then used it to arrest him for "rumor mongering."

On Saturday, Chinese television broadcast the footage of the man, saying that 20,000 people had been killed in the crackdown. His arrest was announced Sunday.

(Reuters, A.P.)

CHINA: Crackdown Widens as Student and Worker Groups Are Banned

(Continued from page 1)

ness officials cannot force their way into the embassy compound and arrest the couple. Mr. Fang and his wife would be at risk if they left the compound.

There is a growing apprehension in Beijing that a negotiated outcome will be difficult to achieve.

The government said that it would distribute "wanted" posters of the couple to be posted in train stations, airports and ports. The poster, which features a distinctly unflattering photograph of Mr. Fang, was shown on television.

"Fang Lizhi and Li Shuxian together engaged in counterrevolutionary propaganda and instigation," the television announcer said. "They are guilty, and they escaped from justice. All points of exit from China should be on their guard for them."

The television news showed several people attacking Mr. Fang as a traitor and criticizing the United States for giving him refuge. The government has appeared to be

highly indignant at the decision to give Mr. Fang diplomatic refuge.

"Fang's action proves that he was guilty," an unidentified woman said on a broadcast.

The new regulations banning pro-democracy groups seemed aimed at ensuring that the newly established calm in China will not be disrupted by more demonstrations.

"All organizations engaged in counterrevolution and social turmoil are abolished," the regulation states. "Independent student and worker associations must immediately cease their activities and leaders must turn themselves in."

The rules also prohibited the offering of assistance to the leaders of these unofficial groups and called on anyone with weapons or counterrevolutionary leaflets to turn them in or face strict punishment. Anyone who clogs traffic or attacks offices of the Communist Party or the official media organizations will be arrested, the Ministry of Public Security said, and troops can use force to disperse people "gathering together to cause chaos."

The police are authorized to use their weapons against rioters and those who resist arrest and to protect themselves. The ministry also urged: "Every citizen should search for criminals and report them."

On the surface, Beijing seems to be returning to normal. The government said that roads around Tiananmen Square would be opened Tuesday to bicycles and motor vehicles, but not to pedestrians.

The television showed a series of senior officials making public appearances to praise the military crackdown and visit wounded soldiers. Among those shown was Qiao Shi, a member of the standing committee of the Politburo who is

mentioned as candidate to be the next leader of the Communist Party.

The most surprising appearance was by Tian Jiyun, a Politburo member who is closely associated with the general secretary of the party, Zhao Ziyang. Mr. Zhao has been stripped of his powers and perhaps of his formal position since he allegedly lent support to the pro-democracy movement.

A picture of Mr. Tian had previously been published in a newspaper, indicating that his career perhaps could be saved. But his appearance Monday was the clearest sign to date that members of Mr. Zhao's faction may not automatically lose their posts.

■ "Terror Campaign" An extraordinary official statement released on Monday night by the Australian Embassy in Beijing

spoke of "a terror campaign," by Chinese authorities, Reuters reported.

A first secretary of the embassy, Gregson Edwards, said: "It is clear the government is attempting to introduce a phase of cold terror aimed at cowering the population. The embassy is talking about what it has seen."

Mr. Edwards said that Australian diplomats had seen arrests being made at gunpoint, the police beating people in the street, and extensive searches of houses and apartments.

He also said that journalists and film crews working in China should be cautious.

"The embassy believes journalists and crews who come under notice in the field are in very, very real danger," he said.

EBONY: A Phantom Story Pillories the Nigerian Leader and His Wife

(Continued from page 1)

rumors couldn't have been worse for the president.

By most accounts, accusations against the general were a strong factor in recent violent demonstrations here and in several cities against the government's austerity program.

The demonstrators, some of whom carried placards with pictures of General Babangida and other military leaders, set buildings and automobiles ablaze to protest the leader's measures, which they blame for their hardships.

Scores of civilians and police officers were killed; the government has yet to make public figures on the total number of casualties.

"In a country where hunger and misery have become the lot of the majority of people, such a story is bound to stir emotions, riots and push people into the streets in protest," The African Concord, a Nigerian weekly, said.

New Nigerian, the state-run newspaper, said more bluntly in a front-page editorial that "the seditious rumor" about General Ba-

bangida and his wife was "the worst form of treasonable disinformation."

What has especially riled Babangida supporters about the accusation is that until now his integrity has rarely been questioned. On a continent where self-promotion is among the most developed of 20th-century skills, the general's public image has been that of a soft-spoken, self-effacing administrator, a diligent military bureaucrat rather than a hero of the nation.

By contrast, said his spokesman, a generation of Nigerian politicians seems to have grown up in the aggressive pursuit of power and money.

"Public office in Nigeria has become synonymous with corruption," under civilian rule, Mr. Mamman said. "And anyone, including President Babangida, who holds public office is seen in that light," he continued.

He said he believed that the rumors were started by politicians who thrived under the corrupt civilian government or who have since been barred from public office by the military.

The television showed a series of senior officials making public appearances to praise the military crackdown and visit wounded soldiers. Among those shown was Qiao Shi, a member of the standing committee of the Politburo who is

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Aviation: Planning for the '90s

U.S. Manufacturers Weigh Potential Effects of East-West Arms Pact

By R. Jeffrey Smith

WASHINGTON—U.S. aerospace manufacturers are warily eyeing prospects for a new East-West arms deal that will require modest reductions of tactical military aircraft, even as they search for new government contracts at the Paris Air Show this week.

Defense officials of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization on Friday began reviewing President George Bush's May 29 proposal to trim Western combat aircraft by 15 percent, or roughly 800 planes out of the 5,400 now deployed in Western Europe, and put a permanent cap on new deployments.

The proposal would require compensating cuts of 9,350 Warsaw Pact aircraft, out of 13,000 deployed in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, according to figures released by the U.S. Defense Department.

Additional cuts would be made in combat helicopters under the Bush proposal, to be fully implemented by 1993.

NATO's unanimous position until now has been that combat aircraft should be excluded from the negotiations because they could be quickly reintroduced into Europe after being withdrawn under the terms of a likely East-West accord. But Mr. Bush proposed that the

planes be destroyed, not just withdrawn, raising the possibility of a shrinking market for manufacturers.

Several key legislators at a June 1 hearing of the Senate Armed Services Committee said that costly new Western military aircraft will seem less attractive as proportionally larger cuts are taken in the forces of the East and hundreds of planes are being destroyed.

"A legitimate question that can be put forward is, 'Should we be building new weapons at the same time we're destroying other weapons?'" said Senator John Warner of Virginia, the committee's senior Republican and a former secretary of the navy. "That becomes a little complicated in the minds of the American public."

Mr. Warner and several others warned the Defense Department witnesses that they would have to lobby hard, not only on Capitol Hill but also throughout the country, to maintain support for defense expenditures in an atmosphere of arms reductions.

Air Force Secretary Donald Rice appeared to open the campaign in a recent conversation with reporters, arguing that "tactical airpower will play a major role and inevitably a stronger role" in Europe as U.S. and allied troops are withdrawn under a new arms accord.

Mr. Rice said the flexibility and mobility of

tactical aircraft make them a vital weapon against surprise advances by enemy forces through a thin ground defense.

But budget increases for tactical military aircraft have already been slowed or stopped, not only in Washington, but also in several European capitals, causing some manufacturers to emphasize the need for improvements to existing planes such as the F-16 deployed in several European countries.

"I don't think we're going to need to withdraw F-15s or F-16s" under a new accord, said Air Force General Robert T. Herres, vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, adding that older and less sophisticated planes would be more likely to be affected.

The impact of an arms control deal will be hard to gauge, said Al Spivak, a spokesman for General Dynamics, a key F-16 contractor, "until we have more details and insight."

"It's far too soon to make predictions or speculate," he said.

Spokesmen for Boeing, Northrop and McDonnell Douglas said the immediate impact would probably be slight, because U.S. firms have not recently played a major role in supplying tactical military aircraft to European clients. But they are presently competing for contracts on a new Advanced Tactical Fighter, which could eventually be sold overseas.

The \$63 million ATF program is set to begin

full-scale development in 1991 but has already been slowed by budget constraints.

Several experts said U.S. manufacturers might be less worried than their European counterparts because neither Mr. Bush nor the Warsaw Pact have proposed to constrain aircraft deployment outside the Atlantic-to-the-Urals region covered by an accord.

As a result, U.S. sales will be constrained only by declining defense expenditures, while British and French firms, for example, will be forced to operate within an agreed limit. They will be free to build new airplanes to replace old ones, General Herres said, but the replacements must be one for one.

General Herres said, in context of East-West parity in conventional forces, that he doubted that American allies "would feel burdened by having to limit themselves to one-to-one replacement." He also said that they would more likely have to be pressured even to maintain such constant replenishment.

General Herres also noted that the Warsaw Pact "has a very funny definition of aircraft that is flatly unacceptable" to the United States, requiring substantial negotiation before an agreement can be concluded.

R. JEFFREY SMITH covers national security affairs for The Washington Post.



The Super Puma MK II, one of Aérospatiale's military helicopters.

In Asia, Air Forces Turn to Retrofitting

Refurbishment Sharply Cuts Costs In Time of Shrinking Defense Budgets

By Michael Richardson

SINGAPORE—As defense budgets around the world get tighter and the cost of modern military equipment, especially combat aircraft, increases, a growing number of air forces in Asia and the Pacific have decided to extend the operating lives of planes they already fly.

Many countries in the region are still using aircraft that were designed or built in the 1950s and 1960s. Among them are the McDonnell Douglas A-4 Skyhawk and F-4 Phantom; the Northrop F-5 and the Soviet Mikoyan MiG-21 or, in China, locally developed variants of this Soviet model.

All these planes are sturdy and capable of years of additional operation. Their combat performance, however, is constrained by underpowered engines and outmoded navigation and attack systems.

Announced or planned programs in the region to modify airframes, replace old engines with newer, more powerful and fuel-efficient jet propulsion units, and update avionics systems involve several hundred planes and contracts worth hundreds of millions of U.S. dollars for Western suppliers.

The rationale for undertaking these programs is simple. Air forces of Asian and Pacific nations

want to save money, enhance the operational performance of their squadrons and acquire aerospace technology and skills from the refurbishment work.

The air forces of China, New Zealand, Singapore, Thailand, India, Japan and Taiwan have already embarked on major life-ex-

Training and maintenance time have been reduced.

tension programs for interceptors, strike aircraft and maritime patrol planes.

Ninety-six multi-role Phantoms of Japan's Air Self Defense Force are undergoing an avionics and airframe upgrade. The 32 Grumman S-2 Tracker maritime patrol and anti-submarine warfare aircraft in Taiwan's air force are receiving similar modernization. The Indian Air Force is updating the avionics of its 120 Jaguar bombers.

Kim C. Beazley, the Australian defense minister, recently announced that about \$150 million would be spent to improve the avionics of the country's 22 General Dynamics F-111C strike air-

Continued on page 11

U.S. Risks Losing Technological Edge

Aerospace Industry Faces Stiff Race Against Soviet, European Competitors

By Graham Warwick

LONDON—Last month, the U.S. Congress approved a deal that will, it hopes, prevent Japan from transferring 20-year-old F-16 fighter technology to the civil sector and, in so doing, protect U.S. aerospace giants such as Boeing from Japanese competition for airliner sales.

Later this year, Congress will decide whether to back U.S. Defense Secretary Dick Cheney's decision to cancel the Bell-Boeing

Tight U.S. controls on transferring technology are blamed.

V-22 Osprey tilt-rotor transport aircraft, a move that could cost the United States its lead in a technology that could revolutionize air transport over the next 20 years.

The U.S. presence at this year's Paris Air Show is being overshadowed by that of the Soviet Union, which has brought along two new airliners in addition to its latest fighter, attack and transport aircraft.

Technologically, the two Soviet airliners are at least a match for anything produced by Boeing, and they are on display in Paris because the Soviet Union wants to sell them. The same holds true for the military hardware on show—it is there because it is for sale.

The Soviets seem unconcerned about the problems of technology transfer, the hottest issue in U.S.

aerospace. Many observers feel that tight U.S. government controls on the transfer of technology, rather than protecting the U.S. industry's technological edge, have cost industry its competitive edge.

Worldwide, the U.S. aerospace industry faces stiff competition from its European counterparts. Now the Soviets are poised to enter the marketplace, and without the export restrictions that so often hamper U.S. companies or exclude them altogether.

That the United States still has a technological edge is without question. That it is under threat is also undeniable, but the threat is not only from without.

The U.S. aerospace industry relies heavily on the U.S. government for business, and recent moves to balance the national budget have led to a cut in profits on government contracts and increased cost-sharing in development. Companies are finding it harder to justify the large research and development budgets needed to identify and introduce new technologies.

Given the task of encouraging the development of new aerospace technologies, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration is also finding money to be scarce and is having to make strategic decisions which could shape the future of U.S. industry.

Nonetheless, the U.S. military has gone ahead with significant funding for one new technology in which it sees potential—the tilt-rotor. This concept combines the vertical takeoff and landing capabilities of a helicopter with the

Continued on page 10

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Perestroika Is Forcing Soviets To Reconsider Space Priorities

LONDON — Seemingly unstoppable, the Soviet space program has been visibly faltering in April, when the crew of the Mir space station was left unattended for the first time since its launch in February 1986.

Several reasons were given for the recall and the decision not to launch a relief crew: technical problems with the station itself and delays in launching add-on sections to expand Mir.

The truth is, however, that the Soviet space program is fighting for its survival.

The Soviet Union's economic and political restructuring has turned the spotlight on previously hidden areas of public expenditure, including the country's massive space program.

National pride is no longer sufficient justification for expending scarce resources on ambitious space projects. The Soviet people want consumer goods, not missions to Mars.

And Soviet space projects must now have clear economic, political or military goals if they are to proceed. It is a reality with which the U.S. National Aeronautics and Space Administration has lived since the American people largely turned their back on space during the protracted Apollo program.

There are many parallels. The successful first flight of the Soviet Buran space shuttle last November was hailed by some as a technical triumph, and branded by others as a monumental folly. Criticism, led by the chief Soviet space scientist, Sergei Korolev, echoed that which greeted the maiden flight of the U.S. space shuttle in 1981, principally that the vehicle served no practical purpose.

The Soviet space program received another setback in March, with the latest in a series of embarrassing failures in its efforts to conquer Mars. The failure of its Phobos 2 space probe, just days before its rendezvous with the eponymous Martian moon, effectively silenced ambitious talk of a manned mission to the planet around the turn of the century. In September, a sister ship, Phobos 1, became lost in space after a Soviet ground controller sent an erroneous computer command to the craft.

It appears that individual agen-

cies in the Soviet space program were pursuing individual goals with little thought to the cost. Now, Soviet space officials are working hard to justify the money spent, highlighting the benefits to the country's economy of the Earth observations conducted by satellites and by cosmonauts aboard the Mir space station.

National pride is no longer sufficient justification for expending scarce resources on ambitious space projects.

Valuable mineral resources have been discovered and vital crops monitored from space, they say.

Sensing the current mood, space officials have also emphasized the technological achievements made, particularly the manufacture in orbit of better semiconductors for faster computers and purer proteins for new medicines. Such benefits are still a long way from reaching Soviet industry, however.

In the short term, officials are trying to find commercial justification for continuing the space program at its present scale. Selling space services abroad for hard currency is one way to demonstrate an economic argument for continued investment in space projects.

Satellite photographs and other data from the country's massive Earth resources program are now offered for sale through Western agents. The quality is good, but as the U.S. Landsat and French Spot satellite programs are showing, the commercial returns are small.

The Soviet Union is also selling flights to Mir and advertising

space on board the spacecraft itself. The going rate for a two-week trip to Mir is \$10 million, but the first customer, Austria, has negotiated a reduction.

A Japanese television company has booked a 1991 flight for a journalist, sparking such a furor among Soviet commentators that a special panel has been set up to

Soviets hope to capitalize. Already one West German company has booked several flights on the Soviet Photon spacecraft.

Sales of satellite images, Mir flights and microgravity access seem unlikely to recoup much of the massive Soviet expenditure on space, however. The only remaining source of income is from launching satellites for foreign customers.

Here, Soviet space officials have some grounds for optimism, on paper at least. They have a wide range of launch vehicles available, and, with Soviet launches running at around 100 a year, the costs are probably low. The vehicles may be old in design, but in the satellite launching business that is no great disadvantage. The key factor is a proven record of reliability.

The Soviets' major disadvantage is that most customers are seeking launches for satellites either built in the United States or with significant U.S. content. So far, the United States has refused to allow any such satellite to be launched by the Soviets, for fear that U.S. technology would be stolen once the spacecraft is in the Soviet Union being prepared for launch.

The Soviets have gone to great lengths to allay such fears, inviting U.S. observers to view the launch facilities and security arrangements and stipulating that satellites can be accompanied at all times by U.S. personnel. Now that China has received permission to launch two U.S.-built satellites on behalf of Australia, it seems only a matter of time before the Soviets gain similar approval.

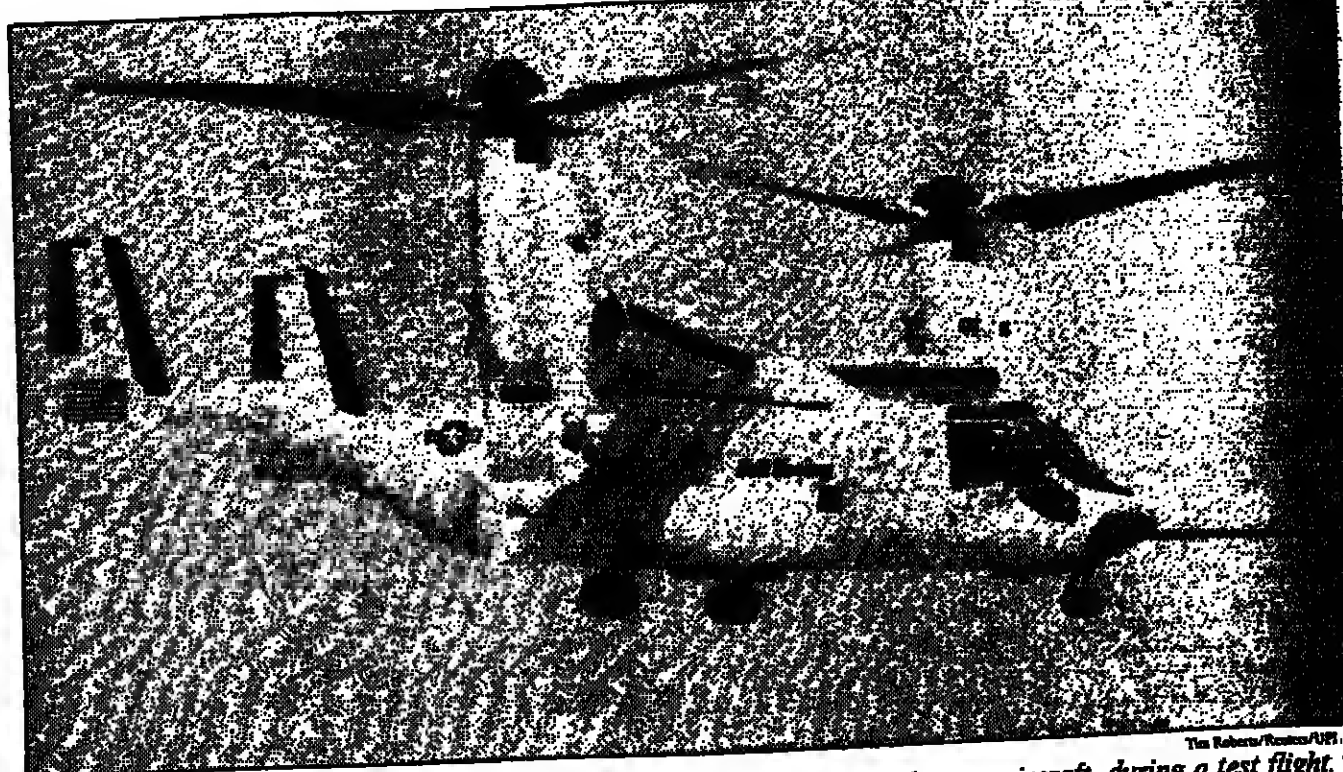
Launches will be treated case-by-case, however, and any cooling of East-West relations could result in the United States reimposing its embargo on Soviet launches.

It is unclear what will happen now. Certainly introduction of the Soviet space shuttle and expansion of the Mir space station will be slowed and the launch of a second-generation Mir 2 delayed, perhaps beyond the turn of the century. Space science programs will be delayed, and even canceled, and any major initiative, such as a manned mission to Mars, will almost certainly involve international collaboration.

Soviet perestroika and the U.S. budget deficit seem to have spelled an end to the space race.

Graham Warwick

The currently unmanned Mir space station.



A prototype of the Bell-Boeing V-22 Osprey, the world's first production tilt-rotor aircraft, during a test flight.

U.S. Technological Edge at Risk

Continued from page 9

cruise speed and range of a turboprop transport aircraft.

Following an enormously successful technology demonstration program in the 1970s, tilt-rotor was selected by the U.S. military to meet the vertical-lift requirements of all four services — air force, army, navy and marine corps. A Bell-Boeing team was given the \$1.8 billion contract to develop the V-22 Osprey tilt-rotor tactical transport aircraft.

As a joint service project, Osprey enjoyed considerable congressional support. Its popularity was buoyed by a report prepared by NASA, the Federal Aviation Administration and the Department of Defense that identified an enormous civil potential for the tilt-rotor concept.

All seemed to be going well until Bell-Boeing encountered development problems that delayed Osprey's first flight by nine months, to March of this year. In those six months came a change of U.S. administration and with it a determination to cut the U.S. budget deficit. Cancellation of the V-22 is the centerpiece of Mr. Cheney's 1990 "mystery" budget.

Congress has already reaffirmed its support for the Osprey program, but it remains to be seen whether it can find room for the V-22 within the budget.

Mr. Cheney argues that the V-22, although desirable, is not essential. Helicopters can continue to perform the role envisaged for the Osprey, he says. The V-22's principal customer, the U.S. Marine Corps, believes otherwise.

Year after year, the Marine Corps fought its paymaster, the navy, and persuaded Congress to find funds for the AV-8B Harrier II vertical takeoff and landing attack aircraft. The Marines regard the V-22 as an essential complement to the AV-8B, with its ability to fly faster and further than conventional helicopters.

Had defense spending been as tight then as it is now, however, the Marines might not have won their fight, and the future of the V-22 is still in doubt.

Tilt-rotor is one of the few truly new technologies to emerge in recent years. Its potential "to change the way man flies" has been acknowledged by the Soviet Union and by the Europeans, who are studying a tilt-rotor airliner under the auspices of the Europa civil high-technology initiative.

The United States has at least a 10-year lead in tilt-rotor technology. The Soviet and European designs are still on the drawing board. A V-22 is flying and could enter service by 1991 as a military transport and by 1995 as a civil airliner. A delay to the program would not cost the United States its lead, but cancellation of the V-22 could prove disastrous for U.S. industry.

Either one of the companies developing Osprey could, if it is canceled, continue the program as a private venture. The pace of development would inevitably slow, however, and the program could be scaled down to the level of a technological demonstration, bringing the prospect of an operational tilt-rotor aircraft no closer than it was in the 1970s.

Meanwhile, Japan has the ideal application of a tilt-rotor vehicle in its "Highway 600" plan, which would link all the Japanese islands by a network of 600 helicopters. Perhaps the plan will provide sufficient justification for Japan's industry to take the lead in tilt-rotor development.

GRAHAM WARWICK is deputy editor of Flight International.

Boom Gives a Boost to Leasing

By Robert Bailey

LONDON — Leasing companies have become a dynamic force in the current expansion of international aviation with their huge new aircraft orders boosting manufacturers and also encouraging the formation of more airlines.

The lease concept grew in the United States during the late 1970s as a result of the airline expansion that resulted from deregulation, increased competition and tax advantages. Now well-established in North America, leasing has also developed into a substantial business in other markets.

In financial terms, an operating lease allows airlines, large or small, to obtain the use of an aircraft without being obliged to pay back their full cost over the term of the lease. Essentially, this removes ownership liability from the airlines' balance sheets, allowing them to concentrate on core activities of transporting passengers and cargo. At the same time, leasing companies accept liability for fluctuations in the value of the capital assets.

Leasing companies consider that the long-term risks of major investment in new aircraft is balanced by the necessity of airlines to replace older aircraft, even if a recession should occur during the 1990s that would reduce passenger growth. Some 36.6 percent of current fleets are composed of aircraft that are 15 years old or more.

If, as predicted, the number of airline passengers doubles to two billion a year by 2000, then the leasing companies' optimism will have been justified. This expansion would mean that an estimated 7,000 new airliners would be required.

A number of new leasing ventures are being formed in Europe. British merchant bank Kleinwort Benson set up a subsidiary this year called Airstream Finance, while Banque Indo-

Suez has joined a French joint venture operation to lease ATR-72 airliners.

The trend goes beyond airframes. Rolls-Royce is discussing the formation of a London-based aero-engine leasing and financing organization with Mitsubishi Trust and Banking of Japan, Chrysler of the United States and National Westminster Bank of Britain.

Much of the present growth and interest is, however, accounted for by the pioneers of

Earlier this year, GPA also established a financial services division to provide funding for its own customers rather than see them borrow in the outside market. The chief commercial officer, Colin Barrington, is quoted as saying that, while the division is concentrating on tax-based leasing arrangements for clients, it plans eventually to expand to the point where it can offer aircraft financing services to non-clients.

"Our ideal is that at some point we could be an aviation investment banker," he said.

The scale of GPA's purchases has already established the group as a major player in the world aircraft industry. Douglas Aircraft's president-elect, Robert Hood, commented that the April deal, which included orders for 10 MD-11 airliners plus two options, carries on a relationship that has resulted in GPA becoming "one of our most important commercial customers."

According to Mr. Hood, "GPA has introduced our products to airlines that in many cases had not operated our aircraft before."

Jean Pierson, the managing director of Airbus Industrie, another major beneficiary of GPA's record order, said: "GPA is now globally the largest Airbus customer, not only in Europe but anywhere outside the U.S."

GPA, which says none of its aircraft ever waits on the tarmac for longer than 48 hours without a customer, has recently strengthened its management with the appointment of retiring Douglas Aircraft president, James Worsham, and the former Douglas international marketing vice president, Glenn Hickerson.

Ever more confident about its market and future role, GPA expects to take delivery of an average of 80 new aircraft a year through most of the next decade.

ROBERT BAILEY is a London-based journalist specializing in aviation and technology.

Composites Gaining Acceptance

By Al Senia

LOS ANGELES — After years of debate and uncertainty, the use of lightweight composite material as a jet aircraft is gaining acceptance in both the commercial and military segments of the aerospace industry.

The increasing popularity of composites — high-strength, lightweight plastic materials that when properly treated can offer twice the strength and half the weight of aluminum — will reach a watershed of sorts at this year's Paris Air Show when the first bona-fide all-composite aircraft is delivered to a customer.

Many commercial and military airplanes use composite parts, but only in limited quantities and usually not in primary structures such as the wings and fuselage. However, the Beech Aircraft Division of Raytheon Corp. has spent an estimated \$310 million since 1983 developing its futuristic Starship 1, an all-composite business turboprop aircraft.

Starship, which was certified for flight by the U.S. Federal Aviation Administration last June, is widely viewed as proving the ultimate viability of composite airplanes. And that could have wide-ranging ramifications for the entire aerospace industry, because composite parts weigh much less than their metal counterparts, increasing overall fuel efficiency. Using composites also can reduce the overall number of parts in an airplane's structure.

There are drawbacks, however. The composite material is expensive, and it is difficult and time-consuming to manufacture parts correctly. Composite material has to be handled in a controlled environment and refrigerated when transported. Until Starship was pro-

duced, many aerospace executives questioned if composite parts would be accepted as integral components of an airplane.

Beech officials believe the Paris gathering will resolve that question.

The first Starship is going to be delivered in Paris at the air show to a U.S. customer," said Mike Potts, a Beech spokesman. "We are using the show as a forum."

Mr. Potts said the company has 40 orders, about one-third of which are from international clients, for the \$3.9 million airplane. It will take Beech through 1990 to fill current orders. Beech builds the planes at its plant in Wichita, Kansas.

The plane is made of epoxy composite reinforced with carbon fibers that are sandwiched around a plastic honeycombed center.

While Starship is likely to gain wide attention at the air show, its appearance is just one of many recent industry moves that underscore increasing use of composites in much larger commercial and military jet transports.

In May, McDonnell Douglas Corp. received a \$23.75 million research and development contract from the National Aeronautics and Space Administration's Langley Research Center to study the replacement of heavy metal airplane structures, including wings and the aircraft body, with composite materials such as high-strength carbon fibers and epoxy-type resins.

The contract, which runs for five years in two phases, will involve a 30-month "concepts development" effort, test verification, and then development of primary composite structures in both military and commercial jets.

Other commercial airplane manufacturers also are adopting composite technology. Airbus, the European aircraft consortium, will use the material in wing parts for its new A-330 and A-340 commercial transports.

BOEING Commercial Airplane Co., the world's largest builder of commercial jets, uses fiberglass, carbon and Kevlar composites in wing and fuselage areas on its 757 transport. Composites comprise 3 percent of the airplane's weight.

Boeing officials say that in the new generation 777 commercial program that has been under discussion, they are considering incorporating composites into primary structures such as horizontal and vertical tails, the rear fuselage, floor beams and wing and flight control surfaces.

Although some consumers may view composite materials such as graphite epoxy as more suitable for such items as tennis rackets, it appears likely that airplane passengers in the next century will be traveling on aircraft built more from plastic composites than metals. Many industry executives believe between 50 and 65 percent of new generation aircraft will be made of the material.

"Advances made in structural materials technology have made a significant impact on aircraft design and performance, especially when considering the large weight reductions made possible from the use of composite materials for both primary and secondary structures," said Warren Johnson, a researcher with the air force's Materials Laboratory at Wright Patterson Air Force Base in Ohio.

AL SENIA is a business journalist in Los Angeles specializing in aerospace and in high technology industries.

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When the FSX agreement was first concluded, last November, the U.S. Defense Department promoted it as a model of how allies could share the cost of weapons development, exchanging technology for mutual gain. The pact gives the United States full access to the Japanese-financed airplane, which will modify

The U.S. demands enraged Japanese defense officials who saw it as an unreasonable attempt to change an agreement already reached, and signed, by the two governments. Many within the Japan Defense Agency, with the support of the Japanese aerospace firms, had resisted the original co-development formula, favoring a completely indigenous development by Japan.

"If the Pentagon is more restrictive on the transfer of technology from the U.S. to Japan, I am concerned that Japanese industry would want to go by themselves," said Hiroo Kinoshita, a Sumitomo corporation executive, adding that "that is not good for both American and Japanese defense industries." Mr. Kinoshita headed the Defense Agency's Equipment Bureau, where he led negotiations on the 1983 agreement to promote transfer of Japanese defense technology to the United States.

U.S. and Japanese companies have good reasons for working together, he said. As the development of new defense systems becomes more complex and more expensive, "these are huge risks not capable of being borne by any one country," he said. "We have to forge ahead in reasonable partnerships ... for the next century's projects."

Japanese defense industry officials share the view that the complex nature of defense technology makes cooperation a necessity. But they also seek to promote as much development

"The state of Japanese military technology is rather low," the U.S. defense official said. "Military technology is underfunded and underdeveloped."

One lesson of the FSX, both Japanese and U.S. defense officials agree, is that cooperation has to be built slowly on a firmer foundation of experience in much smaller projects. The complex FSX project was attempted despite the failure to make any progress on several standing proposals for joint developments of much smaller-scale systems.

"We should have crawled before we ran," Mr. Beagles said.

DANIEL SNEIDER is the Tokyo correspondent of *The Christian Science Monitor* and of *Defense News*.

Continued from page 9

The partly completed programs, said Prasan Sengupta, deputy editor of Aerospace magazine, have already produced "up-to-date aircraft with much-improved flight performance at a fraction of the cost of acquiring new fighters." Training and maintenance time and costs have also been sharply reduced, he added.

For example, New Zealand awarded a \$62 million contract to SLI Avionics Systems, the U.S. division of Smiths Industries of Britain, to install new avionics, including weapons control and search radar, inertial navigation, multi-function cockpit displays, aircraft guidance units and computers in 17 A-4 Skyhawk single-seat fighters of the New Zealand Air Force and 5 two-seat trainers. The program is scheduled to be completed by the end of 1989.

It went ahead after a study commissioned by the New Zealand military found that the Skyhawks could be satisfactorily modernized for less than \$5 million each. This was less than a quarter of the bill for acquiring advanced front-line fighters, such as the F-16A/B Fighting Falcons made by General Dynamics Corp. of the United States at a cost of \$22 million per plane.

The New Zealand assessment concluded that when the airframes of the A-4s were refurbished and avionics packages installed that were similar to those in the F-16A/B, the

Skyhawks "could fulfil up to 95 percent of the Fighting Falcon's capabilities in primary maritime strike and ground attack roles, and about 90 percent of its low-to-medium altitude air combat capabilities at about one-sixth the cost."

Singapore is pressing ahead with a program to put new engines and avionics into three Skyhawk squadrons, each with 20 aircraft. The F404 engines being installed in Singapore are made by General Electric Co. of the United States and are the same as those that power McDonnell Douglas's latest frontline fighter, the F/A-18 Hornet.

Inaugurating the first of the re-engined squadrons of "Super Skyhawk" fighter-bombers in March, Brigadier General Lee Hsien Loong, Singapore's second minister for defense (services), said that once the remaining two squadrons were commissioned, the whole Skyhawk fleet would be refitted with "more sophisticated avionics to improve their navigation and weapons delivery accuracies." Analysts expect the total cost of this program to be more than \$200 million.

General Lee said that although the Super Skyhawk had a smaller, lighter engine than the original, the upgraded aircraft had 30 percent more thrust. It was also faster and had a better rate of climb. With improved avionics, the Super Skyhawk would be effective for another 15 years, he added.

In addition to saving large amounts of money by not having to replace whole fleets of aging combat planes with much more expen-

sive new aircraft, upgrading is seen by some Asian and Pacific countries as a nonprovocative means of enhancing defense capabilities.

Singapore, for example, has to be careful not to arouse the suspicions of its larger neighbors, Indonesia and Malaysia. Skyhawks are used as ground attack aircraft by Indonesia and Malaysia as well as Singapore. General Lee said that replacing the Skyhawks with more modern planes "was not only exorbitantly expensive, but also politically insensitive and unwise."

Singapore, Indonesia and Thailand have each ordered a relatively small number of F-16s, while Malaysia is expected to announce a firm order soon for up to a dozen Panavia Tornado strike aircraft from Europe. Analysts said that countries acquiring F-16s or other new aircraft while upgrading older planes stipulated that they should be able to operate effectively together.

Malaysia grounded its 35 Skyhawks in October after several crashes. Air force officials said recently that eight of the planes have been cleared to fly again while the remainder were still undergoing inspection. The Defense Ministry in Kuala Lumpur has said that a decision has not yet been made on whether to upgrade the aircraft.

The largest avionics retrofit market in the Asia-Pacific region has been China, where the state-owned manufacturers of four different combat aircraft turned to suppliers in the United States and the European Community. Transfer of U.S. avionics was recently halted when President George Bush announced the suspension of American military sales to China.



A McDonnell Douglas A-4 Skyhawk, an older plane among those being upgraded rather than replaced.

in protest at the use of the armed forces to suppress the pro-democracy movement in Beijing.

The second biggest market is made up of the more than 500 Northrop F-5 fighters that are still in service with the air forces of Bahrain, Indonesia, Jordan, Malaysia, the Philippines,

**Saudi Arabia, Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan
and Thailand.**

U.S. and British contractors are working with Thai Air Force technicians at Don Mueang Air Base in Bangkok to re-equip 38 F-5s. Work on five of the aircraft has been finished. U.S. and European avionics manufacturers

are also bidding for contracts to upgrade a total of about 165 F-5s in South Korea, Singapore and Malaysia.

MICHAEL RICHARDSON is the International Herald Tribune's editor for Asia.

Four small, square, black and white photographs of aircraft engines. The first image on the left shows a Pratt & Whitney engine with a prominent white arc on a dark background. The second image shows a Hamilton Standard engine with a circular intake. The third image shows a Sikorsky engine with a complex, multi-part structure. The fourth image on the right shows a Space Systems engine with a complex, multi-part structure.

The leadership of United Technologies' aerospace companies reaches from the earth to beyond the moon. Sikorsky helicopters continue to set standards for vertical flight. Pratt & Whitney jet engines and rocket motors establish new records even beyond the speed of sound. Norden radar systems monitor a world of motion. At the atmosphere's edge, Missiles and Space Systems explores fields from propulsion to optics. And finally, in the airless depths of space, Hamilton Standard systems support astronauts' very lives. We learn from each of these endeavors. And we share that knowledge among our companies to make the most of our united technologies.

NYSE Most Actives					
Vol.	High	Low	Last	Chg.	
IBM	120.00	119.00	119.00	-1.00	
AT&T	110.00	109.00	109.00	-1.00	
Amgen	100.00	99.00	99.00	-1.00	
Amgen	100.00	99.00	99.00	-1.00	
Amgen	100.00	99.00	99.00	-1.00	
Amgen	100.00	99.00	99.00	-1.00	
Amgen	100.00	99.00	99.00	-1.00	
Amgen	100.00	99.00	99.00	-1.00	
Amgen	100.00	99.00	99.00	-1.00	
Amgen	100.00	99.00	99.00	-1.00	

Market Sales		
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	151,446,000	
NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	151,446,000	
NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	
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NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	151,446,000	
NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	

NYSE Index				
High	Low	Close	Chg.	
120.00	119.00	119.00	-1.00	
120.00	119.00	119.00	-1.00	
120.00	119.00	119.00	-1.00	
120.00	119.00	119.00	-1.00	
120.00	119.00	119.00	-1.00	
120.00	119.00	119.00	-1.00	
120.00	119.00	119.00	-1.00	
120.00	119.00	119.00	-1.00	
120.00	119.00	119.00	-1.00	

Mondays NYSE Closing		
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	151,446,000	
NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	151,446,000	
NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	151,446,000	
NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	151,446,000	
NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	151,446,000	
NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	

AMEX Diary		
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	151,446,000	
NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	151,446,000	
NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	151,446,000	
NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	151,446,000	
NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	151,446,000	
NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	

NASDAQ Index		
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	151,446,000	
NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	151,446,000	
NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	151,446,000	
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NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	151,446,000	
NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	

AMEX Most Actives		
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	151,446,000	
NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	151,446,000	
NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	151,446,000	
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NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	151,446,000	
NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	

Dow Jones Bond Averages		
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	151,446,000	
NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	151,446,000	
NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	151,446,000	
NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	151,446,000	
NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	151,446,000	
NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	

NYSE Diary		
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	151,446,000	
NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	151,446,000	
NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	
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NYSE 4 p.m. volume	151,446,000	
NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	151,446,000	
NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	

Dodd-Lot Trading in N.Y.		
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	151,446,000	
NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	151,446,000	
NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	151,446,000	
NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	151,446,000	
NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	151,446,000	
NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	

Dow Jones Averages		
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	151,446,000	
NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	151,446,000	
NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	151,446,000	
NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	151,446,000	
NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	151,446,000	
NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	

Standard & Poor's Index		
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	151,446,000	
NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	151,446,000	
NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	151,446,000	
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NYSE 4 p.m. volume	151,446,000	
NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	151,446,000	
NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	

NASDAQ Diary		
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	151,446,000	
NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	151,446,000	
NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	
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NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	151,446,000	
NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	

AMEX Stock Index		
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	151,446,000	
NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	151,446,000	
NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	
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NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	151,446,000	
NYSE 4 p.m. value	25,183,840	

Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street and do not reflect late trades elsewhere.

NYSE Mixed After Selling Bout

United Press International
NEW YORK — Prices on the New York Stock Exchange closed mixed Monday in moderate trading as the market failed to fully recover from an early round of futures-related selling. The Dow Jones industrial average, which had fallen 3.49 Friday, rose 5.42 to post its highest closing level since the Oct. 19, 1987, collapse at 2,518.84. Much of the advance in the blue-chip index was due to a surge in Procter & Gamble. Broader market indicators lagged behind the Dow, and subsequently closed lower. The New York Stock Exchange composite index eased 0.23 to 182.14 and Standard & Poor's 500-stock index slid 0.44 to 326.25. The price of an average share lost 5 cents. Declines edged advances by a narrow margin. Volume slowed to 151.4 million shares from 173.4 million on Friday. Analysts said the market was extending the weakness it showed Friday, when a stronger than expected 0.9 percent increase in May wholesale prices sparked some profit taking despite sharp gains in the currency and bond markets. Rick Harrison, technical analyst with Interstate-Johnson Lane Corp., in Charlotte, North Carolina, said the renewed weakness could be a sign that the market was entering a period in which it would consolidate its recent sharp gains. "The market is probably in a correction here," he said, noting that stock prices have shown a steady upward trend since mid-November. "The 2,475 level on the Dow industrials has represented a critical support level over the last

three or four weeks. I don't expect the market to fall any lower than, say, 2,400," he said. Traders said stock prices earlier in the session fell victim to futures-related selling that was triggered by a sudden dip in the bond market. Stock-index futures dropped to levels at which computer-driven sell programs kicked in at the Chicago Mercantile Exchange. The programs involved the purchase of futures contracts and the sale of stocks. Burlington Resources, ex-dividend, a takeover-related stock, was the most active NYSE issue, jumping 1 to 44 1/2. Other stocks tied to takeover speculation tended to close lower, however. Paramount Communications, ex-dividend, the second most active issue, dropped 1 1/2 to 57 1/4 after its bid for Time Inc. last week. Warner Communications, with whom Time had agreed to merge, fell 1 1/2 to 54 1/4. Time rebounded from an early sell-off and closed 3 1/2 higher at 174. Traders said the rally was fueled by rumors that either Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co., or the Robert M. Bass Group, may be planning a potential bid for Time. USX fell 1/2 to 37 1/2, and Eastman Kodak slid 1/2 to 49 1/2 after rallying last week on takeover rumors. Pacific Gas & Electric was the third most active issue, rising 1/2 to 20. AT&T fell 1/2 to 36 1/4. IBM rose 1/2 to 108 1/4. Among other blue chips, American Express eased 1/2 to 34 1/4, McDonald's dropped 1/2 to 58 1/4, General Electric fell 1/2 to 54 1/4, and Merck & Co. slid 1/2 to 70 1/4.

12 Month	High	Low	Close	Chg.	Vol.	High	Low	Close	Chg.	Vol.
IBM	120.00	119.00	119.00	-1.00	1,200,000	120.00	119.00	119.00	-1.00	1,200,000
AT&T	110.00	109.00	109.00	-1.00	1,100,000	110.00	109.00	109.00	-1.00	1,100,000
Amgen	100.00	99.00	99.00	-1.00	1,000,000	100.00	99.00	99.00	-1.00	1,000,000
Amgen	100.00	99.00	99.00	-1.00	1,000,000	100.00	99.00	99.00	-1.00	1,000,000
Amgen	100.00	99.00	99.00	-1.00	1,000,000	100.00	99.00	99.00	-1.00	1,000,000
Amgen	100.00	99.00	99.00	-1.00	1,000,000	100.00	99.00	99.00	-1.00	1,000,000
Amgen	100.00	99.00	99.00	-1.00	1,000,000	100.00	99.00	99.00	-1.00	1,000,000
Amgen	100.00	99.00	99.00	-1.00	1,000,000	100.00	99.00	99.00	-1.00	1,000,000
Amgen	100.00	99.00	99.00	-1.00	1,000,000	100.00	99.00	99.00	-1.00	1,000,000
Amgen	100.00	99.00	99.00	-1.00	1,000,000	100.00	99.00	99.00	-1.00	1,000,000

NYSE 4 p.m. volume	NYSE 4 p.m. value	NYSE 4 p.m. volume	NYSE 4 p.m. value	NYSE 4 p.m. volume	NYSE 4 p.m. value
151,446,000	25,183,840	151,446,000	25,183,840	151,446,000	25,183,840
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151,446,000	25,183,840	151,446,000	25,183,840	151,446,000	25,183,840
151,446,000	25,183,840	151,446,000	25,183,840	151,446,000	25,183,840
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151,446,000	25,183,840	151,446,000	25,183,840	151,446,000	25,183,840
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NYSE 4 p.m. volume	NYSE 4 p.m. value	NYSE 4 p.m. volume	NYSE 4 p.m. value	NYSE 4 p.m. volume	NYSE 4 p.m. value
151,446,000	25,183,840	151,446,000	25,183,840	151,446,000	25,183,840
151,446,000	25,183,840	151,446,000	25,183,840	151,446,000	25,183,840
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151,446,000	25,183,840	151,446,000	25,183,840	151,446,000	25,183,840
151,446,000	25,183,840	151,446,000	25,183,840	151,446,000	25,183,840
151,446,000	25,183,840	151,446,000	25,183,840	151,446,000	25,183,840

PHILIPS HAS PUT A LITTLE ART IN ITS SCIENCE



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THE LCD MONITOR FROM PHILIPS

NYSE 4 p.m. volume	NYSE 4 p.m. value	NYSE 4 p.m. volume	NYSE 4 p.m. value	NYSE 4 p.m. volume	NYSE 4 p.m. value
151,446,000	25,183,840	151,446,000	25,183,840	151,446,000	25,183,840
151,446,000	25,183,840	151,446,000	25,183,840	151,446,000	25,183,840
151,446,000	25,183,840	151,446,000	25,183,840	151,446,000	25,183,840
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151,446,000	25,183,840	151,446,000	25,183,840	151,446,000	25,183,840
151,446,000	25,183,840	151,446,000	25,183,840	151,446,000	25,183,840
151,446,000	25,183,840	151,446,000	25,183,840	151,446,000	25,183,840

(Continued on next left-hand page)

WALL STREET WATCH

In Spring Rally, NASDAQ Is Close to All-Time High

By ANISE C. WALLACE

NEW YORK — The broad-based NASDAQ composite index has quietly moved within a whisker of its record high, showing the extent of this spring's stock market rally. On Friday the NASDAQ composite index closed at 453.65. That was less than 2 points below the record 455.26 set Aug. 26, 1987, before the October market collapse, although the index eased 0.26 points to 453.39 on Monday.

Almost 28 percent of the more than 4,000 NASDAQ over-the-counter stocks are at prices above their 1987 highs, and 287 are trading at or above their 52-week highs, according to Merrill Lynch analysts.

"These are certainly measures of a very strong market," said Robert J. Farrell, chief market strategist at Merrill.

Though dominant in the headlines, the Dow Jones industrial average remains more than 200 points below its record high, and some investment advisers predict that the over-the-counter stocks will outperform the large blue-chip issues over the next year.

NASDAQ is the acronym for the National Association of Securities Dealers Automated Quotation system. The NASDAQ index has already advanced 18.7 percent since January, while stocks of some individual companies, such as MCI Communications Inc., have surged by as much as 80 percent.

Last week, the NASDAQ index advanced in part on the strength of shares of cellular-telephone companies after McCaw Cellular Communications Inc. offered \$120 a share for Lin Broadcasting Corp.

"This feels like a bull market," said Roger B. McNamee, co-manager of the T. Rowe Price American New Horizon Fund, a \$1 billion mutual fund that invests in many of these securities.

During this year's rally, some of the largest gains have been made by over-the-counter stocks of telecommunications companies, health services, Midwestern commercial banks and companies in the travel and entertainment sector.

The worst-performing stock groups include gold and silver, business services, savings and loans, Southwestern commercial banks and electrical equipment companies.

AS THE MARKET has improved, trading activity has picked up for the 6,432 member firms that make markets in these stocks. The average daily trading volume in May was 140 million shares, slightly more than the average 139.8 million in May 1987 and significantly better than the average daily volume of 117.5 million last year, according to the National Association of Securities Dealers.

So far, individual investors have yet to participate directly in the rally, brokers say, and over-the-counter trading has been dominated by professional investors at mutual funds, bank trust departments and insurance companies.

Mutual funds that specialize in over-the-counter stocks say cash inflow from individual investors is still minimal.

"This is being accomplished without the individual investor," said Steven G. Einhorn, an investment strategist at Goldman, Sachs & Co.

Of course, the near brush with the record has some investors worried. During the current rally, for instance, Bonifaz Zafra, a portfolio manager in the New York office of Trust Co. of the West, has been selling technology stocks.

And even though Mr. McNamee says he thinks he can find inexpensive stocks with higher-than-average earnings growth rates, he said the increased level of initial public offerings makes him nervous about the overall market.

In recent weeks, Unitog, Duty Free International, Goal Sys-

See RALLY, Page 16

THE CORPORATE PLAYERS IN THE FIGHT FOR TIME INC.

TIME INC. WARNER COMMUNICATIONS INC.

PARAMOUNT COMMUNICATIONS INC. (formerly Gulf & Western Inc.)

Headquarters: New York. Employees: 19,500.

Financial: Profit of \$385 million on revenue of \$5.1 billion in year ended Oct. 31.

Stock: 52-week range \$56.12 to \$37.12; closed Wednesday at \$54.75, up 75 cents from \$54 at Tuesday's close.

Main businesses: Publishing, including book publisher Simon & Schuster, entertainment, including television and movie studio Paramount Pictures; financial services.

Wall Street advisers: Investment banker Morgan Stanley & Co.

TIME INC.

Headquarters: New York. Employees: 21,000.

Financial: Profit of \$289 million on revenue of \$4.5 billion in year ended Dec. 31.

Stock: 52-week range \$119.50 to \$88.00; closed Wednesday at \$170, up \$44 from \$126 at Tuesday's close.

Main businesses: Publishing, including Fortune, Time and Sports Illustrated magazines; cable television, including Home Box Office, Cinemax and numerous cable systems.

Wall Street advisers: Investment bankers Wasserstein Perella & Co. and Shearson Lehman Hutton Inc.; law firms Cravath, Swaine & Moore and Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom.

WARNER COMMUNICATIONS INC.

Headquarters: New York. Employees: 14,460.

Financial: Profit of \$423 million on revenue of \$4.2 billion in year ended Dec. 31.

Stock: 52-week range \$52.75 to \$32.37; closed Wednesday at \$53.50, up \$1.75 from \$51.75 at Tuesday's close.

Main businesses: Recording, including Elektra, Asylum, Nonesuch and Atlantic labels; entertainment, including Warner Brothers movie studio and interests in movie theaters and cable television.

Wall Street advisers: Investment banker Lazard Freres & Co.; law firms Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Whitman & Garrison and Wachtell, Lipton, Rosen & Katz.

Picking Up Pieces of Warner's Dream

Harsh Words From Chairman Ross For Man Who Spoiled His Merger

By Geraldine Fabrikant

NEW YORK — Steven J. Ross, the chairman of Warner Communications Inc., is clearly furious.

Mr. Ross thought he had built the perfect sand castle: a debt-free merger with Time Inc. that he saw as "the American dream," a company strong enough to be a dominant force in the global media marketplace.

For Mr. Ross, the consummate deal maker, it was the consummate deal.

Then last week, just weeks before shareholders were to vote on the merger, Martin S. Davis, the chairman of Paramount Communications Inc., abruptly destroyed the sand castle, with the former Gulf & Western Inc. making a cash bid for Time of \$175 a share, or \$10.7 billion.

"Gulf & Western said its bid was a friendly action, but that is pure fiction," Mr. Ross said Friday in a rare interview in his New York offices.

Speaking of Mr. Davis, he added, "He made overtures to Time that were rejected. Time had never put itself up for sale."

Looking tired, and saying repeatedly that he was "frustrated," by the turn of events, Mr. Ross attacked the Paramount bid as one certain to severely weaken the merged companies.

"I am a long-term player," he said, "and I believe shareholders are better served by responsible management like Time-Warner than by creating a debt-ridden monster like Paramount envisions."

Mr. Ross also questioned the long-term goals of Mr. Davis, who has reshaped Paramount from a conglomerate of diverse businesses into a media and entertainment company.

"He said he would not sell assets," Mr. Ross said. "But his registration form says that the investment bankers will receive 0.2 percent of all divisions or assets sold."

He also pointed out that Paramount had said it would not have earnings for the first two years after the highly leveraged merger.

"What will change in the third year?" Mr. Ross asked. "He said he would run Time better, but where are the long-term values for shareholders?"

"Gulf & Western is taking two strong companies and making one weak company in industries where you have to take risks and expand," he continued. "If they are not free to invest and start new magazines, the country and the economy will be the poorer for it. At Time with Gulf & Western there, the good people are gone."

Because the companies have been rivals, and at times allies, for so

See ROSS, Page 16



Nicholas J. Nicholas Jr., left, president of Time Inc., and J. Richard Munro, center, Time's chairman, with Steven J. Ross, chairman of Warner, at a meeting in March about the merger.

Time Inc. Stock Surges On Rumors of Warner Bid

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

NEW YORK — Time Inc. stock surged Monday amid a flurry of rumors including one about Warner Communications Inc. making a \$215-a-share bid for Time.

Other rumors said the stock was on the restricted list at Drexel Burnham Lambert Inc. or at Merrill Lynch & Co. When a Wall Street firm restricts a stock its salesmen can no longer solicit orders in it and the move can mean the firm is represent-

ing a potential buyer of the company.

Drexel said it would neither confirm nor deny the rumor, and Merrill Lynch was not immediately available.

A Time spokesman declined to comment on the activity in the company's shares, and Warner Communications did not return telephone calls.

Time and Warner have been the subject of intense speculation on Wall Street since Paramount Communications Inc.

See TIME, Page 15

Dollar Rises Despite Bank Intervention

NEW YORK — The dollar advanced further on Monday, buoyed by heavy investment flows into the U.S. currency seeking high interest rates and political stability.

Dealers said the heaviest demand for dollars again came from Asia as investors seeking refuge from the instability brought about by events in China were encouraged further by the perception that U.S. interest rates would not fall further.

The dollar initially rebuffed efforts by the U.S. Federal Reserve and the Bank of Japan to slow its rise through intervention, but the central bank moves later made an impact and the dollar closed below its highs for the day.

The dollar closed in New York at 202.00 Deutsche marks, up from 201.10 DM on Friday, and at 148.60 yen, up from 146.65 yen.

The British pound continued to slide amid fears that the government's high interest-rate policy has not yet succeeded in controlling

inflation. The pound dropped to \$1.5295 from \$1.5470 on Friday.

The U.S. unit also ended at 1.7560 Swiss francs, up from 1.7410 francs, and at 6.8655 French francs, up from 6.7975 francs.

Dealers said that despite the central bank intervention, the outlook for the dollar is bullish. They said as long as financial markets remained worried about political instability in Asia and economic trends in the United States point to stable to higher interest rates, the U.S. currency would rise.

"I don't see what's going to stop it from going up at the moment," said Geoffrey Dennis, chief international economist at James Capel Inc.

Riding on a wave of positive sentiment, the dollar has advanced over 11 percent since the beginning of May against the yen and more than 7 percent against the mark.

While dealers and economists said the dollar may pause for a short time as it consolidates recent

See DOLLAR, Page 17

Idemitsu of Japan Buys North Sea Oil Stake

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

OSLO — In a move to secure more stable supplies of crude oil in the aftermath of disruptions caused by the Iran-Iraq war, Idemitsu Kosan of Japan said Monday that it would buy a 9.6 percent stake in Norway's Snorre North Sea oil field for up to 1.5 billion kroner (\$208.7 million).

Analysts said the move would give Idemitsu access to roughly 700 million barrels of crude oil reserves, making it by far the largest such crude oil acquisition by a Japanese oil company.

"The Japanese have made small forays into the U.K. sector," said Alan Sinclair, an oil analyst at Smith New Court Agency, "but this is dimensionally different from anything they've done before."

Japanese oil companies, which are totally dependent on foreign imports, were forced to restrict their oil imports from Iran last year in response to U.S.-led sanctions against the country.

Idemitsu will buy the stake from Den Norske Stats Oljeselskap A/S,

the Norwegian state-owned oil company, which said it was selling the reserves as part of a restructuring.

The company said the sale would improve its equity capital structure and reduce its investment commitments in the next few years.

The sale will reduce Statoil's share in Snorre, off central Norway, to 10 percent from 19.6 percent and the Norwegian government's holding in Snorre to 41.4 percent from 51 percent.

Snorre's total development costs, estimated more than 30 billion kroner, have been sharply criticized in Norway. Some oil industry sources and government officials have questioned whether it will make money.

The oil field is due to come on stream in 1992.

Statoil said the ultimate cost to Idemitsu for the 9.6 percent stake would be partly linked to oil price movements and would be in the range of 1.1 billion kroner to 1.5 billion kroner.

See OIL, Page 15

Currency Rates

Cross Rates	June 12
American dollar	1.0000
British pound	1.5470
French franc	6.5595
German mark	1.3663
Italian lira	2.3667
Japanese yen	146.65
Netherlands guilder	2.2037
Swiss franc	1.7560
U.S. dollar	1.0000
West German mark	1.3663

Forward Rates	June 12
30-day	1.5470
60-day	1.5470
90-day	1.5470
180-day	1.5470
360-day	1.5470

Interest Rates	June 12
3-month	8.00%
6-month	8.00%
9-month	8.00%
12-month	8.00%

Key Money Rates	June 12
3-month	8.00%
6-month	8.00%
9-month	8.00%
12-month	8.00%

Asian Dollar Deposits	June 12
1-month	8.00%
3-month	8.00%
6-month	8.00%
12-month	8.00%

U.S. Money Market Funds	June 12
3-month	8.00%
6-month	8.00%
9-month	8.00%
12-month	8.00%

Gold	June 12
1-ounce	350.00
10-ounce	350.00
100-ounce	350.00

Japan Starts Index Option Trading

By David E. Sanger

NEW YORK — Japan began trading stock index options for the first time Monday, another step in the country's rapid efforts to catch up with the offerings of Western financial markets.

The options trading started on the Osaka Stock Exchange, which has led many of the innovations in a financial system resistant to such changes in the past. Options are the latest instrument that Japanese investors are turning to for protection against the day when the world's largest stock market finally began to open.

Nine months ago trading began on stock index futures, and after a slow start the idea has caught on.

"We are moving toward the day where every instrument available in New York or Chicago is also available in Japan," Minoru Nakamura, the director of research at the Osaka exchange, said Monday.

By coincidence, options trading began on a day when many investors felt they badly needed a hedge against a down market. With the dollar rising at a remarkable pace — it gained 4.90 yen in Tokyo on Monday, closing at 148.60 — the Tokyo Stock Exchange has gotten nervous. All last week there was evidence that large Japanese invest-

See JAPAN, Page 15

In China, More Central Control Seen Joint Ventures With Hong Kong Are Facing a Squeeze

By Coleen Geraghty

HONG KONG — Chinese leaders will be attempting, over the next few months, to consolidate economic control within a few strong hands, according to foreign bankers and China analysts here.

The strategy is likely to enhance the position of such large organizations as Bank of China, China International Trust & Investment Corp. and the trading companies China Resources and Everbright, the analysts said.

At the same time, they added, hundreds of smaller joint-venture companies set up by mainland Chinese with Hong Kong partners face a financial squeeze, which could contribute to a disruption of the territory's prosperity and hurt its plans for economic integration with China.

Analysts concede the possibility that China could revert to economic isolation if that becomes necessary for political stability. But many believe Beijing will try to maintain commerce with the West through the established trade and investment channels.

Last week, China's senior leader, Deng Xiaoping, in his first public appearance since the killings of pro-democracy demonstrators in Beijing's Tiananmen Square, said the government would continue to carry out "reform and the open-door policy."

"I do not expect sharp reversals in China's economic policies," said an American banker who has lived in Hong Kong and China for nearly a decade. "I think inflation will get more attention and fixed prices will be restored."

"But I do not see China closing its open door," he said. "They are

too closely connected with the rest of the world."

Peter Everington, director of the investment management firm Thornton Management, said the momentum of economic changes built up over the past decade would be impossible to stop.

"China's leaders tend to separate economics and politics," he said. "For the past 10 years, they have been carrying out economic reform without political reform. I think we may now see an attempt to re-centralize the economy as part and parcel of trying to maintain control."

The re-centralization, if it comes about as predicted, would affect future foreign investment as well as China's overseas investment, particularly in Hong Kong.

Because foreign companies have been carrying out economic reform without political reform, I think we may now see an attempt to re-centralize the economy as part and parcel of trying to maintain control.

"But I do not see China closing its open door," he said. "They are

See HONG KONG, Page 16

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SPORTS

Lasorda Reshuffles the Deck And Dodgers Finesse a Slump

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

In the wake of what he said was a sleepless night, frustrated by his team's ongoing offensive struggle, Los Angeles Dodgers manager Tom Lasorda moved Kirk Gibson from third to first in the batting order, elevated Eddie Murray from fourth to third and employed Mike Davis as the cleanup hitter.

The result? It can't exactly be said that the Dodgers snapped their slump. They collected only four singles as their team average dropped from .227 to .226, but the wildness of Scott Snider, the Cincinnati Reds rookie, plus some creative strategy by Lasorda and a six-hitter by Tim Lary and Jay Howell were enough to defeat the Reds, 3-1, in Los Angeles.

"All I see is the 'W' and that's what's sweet," second baseman Willie Randolph said of a win that was only the Dodgers' fourth in their last 11 games and enabled them to stay within seven of the Houston Astros, who lead the Reds and San Francisco Giants by one game in the National League West. Gibson went hitless in three at-bats, but he walked and scored in the third, when the Dodgers snapped a string of 23 scoreless innings.

Davis, 1-for-31 at the time, flared a two-run, bases-loaded single in that inning after Randolph sent Gibson to third on a hit-and-run single to left-center, Randolph taking second when Eric Davis threw to the plate. Murray was walked intentionally, and Davis looped his single over shortstop Barry Larkin for a rare lead.

Randolph, whose bat control seems better suited to the No. 2 position in the batting order than the leadoff spot he has been asked

to fill on occasion, singled in the Dodgers' third run in the fourth after Alfredo Griffin walked and was sacrificed to second by Leary.

"Randolph is an exceptional No. 2 hitter if we can get someone on who can run and steal," Lasorda said. "With Kirk up there, we can manufacture runs."

"We need a catalyst, we had to do something. We'll keep him up there and see what happens, see if he can turn the offense on."

Gibson said he couldn't remember the last time he batted leadoff, but would give it his customary aggressiveness.

"We need to be more cohesive," Gibson said. "We need to work together as a lineup and that hasn't been the case. If I'm going to bat leadoff, I'll do my part to try and create easy runs."

"I'll be aggressive and let them (the opposition) know I'm going to be aggressive. I mean, if they want to throw Willie jump, I'm going to be on second, no doubt about it. I'm going to be running."

Brother of Hearn Is Arrested in Killing

United Press International

SOUTHFIELD, Michigan—The brother of boxer Thomas Hearn was in jail Monday as a suspect in the shooting death of a woman at the boxer's home, but Hearn remained in Las Vegas to prepare for his bout with Sugar Ray Leonard.

The two boxers were scheduled to battle Monday night for the World Boxing Council super middleweight title.

Henry Hearn, 22, the youngest of nine Hearn siblings, was arrested Sunday on suspicion of homicide.

"If we start manufacturing runs, the guys will relax at the plate and swing like they're capable. We need to have more diversity."

Cardinals 10, Cubs 7: In Chicago, Ozzie Smith had the first three-hit game of his career and St. Louis rallied for eight runs in the seventh inning. Tom Brunansky drove in three runs in the seventh with a two-run home run and an RBI single. Smith and Pedro Guerrero also had two hits each in the inning.

Astros 10, Braves 6: In Houston, Bill Doran hit his second career grand slam in a seven-run second inning for Houston. The Astros have won 16 of their last 17 games. Jim Deshaies won for the sixth time in seven decisions.

Giants 3, Padres 1: In San Francisco, Will Clark hit a two-out, two-run home run off Mark Davis in the 12th. San Diego led 1-0 before Greg Linton's leadoff home run in the ninth. Rich Gossage won his first game with the Giants.

Yankees 8, Red Sox 7: In New York, pinch-hitter Ricky Henderson snapped an eighth-inning tie with a run-scoring single, and Don Mattingly hit a pair of two-run home runs as New York completed a doubleheader sweep. The Yankees won the first game 4-2.

Mattingly was 3-for-8 with six RBIs in the doubleheader.

Boston scored five times in the top of the eighth to make it 7-1 before Henderson's single.

Royals 5, Angels 3: In Kansas City, Missouri, Bob Boone, who left California last season as a free agent, hit a three-run home run that lifted the Royals to a three-game sweep. Boone's home run — his first since August 1988 — capped a four-run rally in the sixth and made a winner of Terry Lincecum, the American League debut. Jim Abbott lost for the first time on the road.

(LAT, AP)



A dejected Magic Johnson leaving Game 3 after four minutes.

VANTAGE POINT/Tony Kornheiser

Lakers: Like a Great Sports Car Missing a Driver

Washington Post Service

LOS ANGELES—Mars Blackman, a basketball-crazy, Lakers-loving character in Spike Lee's 1986 movie, "She's Gotta Have It," would understand. He would accept the inevitability of the Los Angeles Lakers losing the NBA finals.

He would hold a picture of Byron Scott in one hand and a picture of Magic Johnson in the other. Pointing to Scott, he would say, "This is an important player. He scores 20 points a game. If he is hurt, you are in trouble. But you can still win without him. Can do." Turning to Magic, he would say, "This is the essential player, the greatest winner since Bill Russell. He gives you 23 points, eight rebounds and 13 assists a game. Not even Federal Express delivers like he does. If he's hurt, you're finished. You cannot win." Reviewing the material, Blackman would display Scott and say, "Can't."

"You have a great sports car and a great driver," was the way Kareem Abdul-Jabbar started his analogy about what losing Magic meant to the Lakers. "And all of a sudden you have to find some guy who's been driving a bus."

The Lakers are dead. The only question is, when are they going to die?

For the second game in a row they came tantalizingly close to victory, only to yield near the buzzer to a deeper, stronger, faster, healthier team. The Pistons — they beat

you short, beat you long, beat you up."

Desperate for a Hollywood ending, Magic gave it a shot. Two shots, actually, in four minutes and 46 seconds. Missed them both. Sat down and stayed there.

"I just couldn't go," he said. "I couldn't do anything — just run in a straight line, that was about it. I wasn't there."

Standing in front of his locker, closing his sad eyes in resignation, Johnson said: "It's not in words to explain how I felt. It's beyond words. This is what I play for. This. And now I can't play."

Johnson is listed as "questionable" for Game 4, but Pat Riley, the Los Angeles coach, conceded that he "doubts" Johnson will play. And from the Detroit locker room, Johnson's good friend Mark Aguirre said he thought Johnson playing would be risky for him and the Lakers' franchise.

Even if he does play, the Detroit coach, Chuck Daly, promised. "We'd attack him at every moment and in any way we can." That's the code of the West, Daly believes. "Magic would respect that," he said. "He'd do it, too."

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Pistons Take a 3-0 Lead Over the Limping Lakers

By David Aldridge

Washington Post Service

LOS ANGELES—The Detroit Pistons do not much care if Magic Johnson and Byron Scott are out of action for the Los Angeles Lakers. They know that the tables were turned last year and that there was no sympathy for being gallant and courageous in defeat. They know, as the Lakers coach, Pat Riley, said Sunday, that such talk is for losers.

So the Pistons passed around the hot hand Sunday, from Isiah Thomas in the first half to Joe Dumars' 21 points in the third quarter to Vinnie Johnson's 15 in the fourth, and they held off the Lakers for a 114-110 victory and a 3-0 stranglehold on the National Basketball Association championship series. Collectively, their backcourt scored 74 points in their third straight virtuoso performance.

Dumars wound up with 31 points, although he hardly played in the fourth quarter, and he made a last-minute block of a three-point shot by David Rivers that would have tied the game.

But Dumars sat out most of the final quarter as Vinnie Johnson scored 11 of Detroit's 13 points in the game's crucial stretch, when the Lakers were trying to summon up

their own ghosts and pull out a desperately needed victory without Johnson and Scott. Johnson played only the first 4:46 of the game, because he was not able to stay on his injured hamstring.

Vinnie Johnson finished with 17 points and Thomas had 26 points and eight assists. Dennis Rodman, playing despite severe back spasms that have plagued him for several days, controlled the rebounds again for Detroit with 19 rebounds to go with his 12 points.

With him in there, the way we had to," said Chuck Daly, the Pistons coach. "The object is to continue to stay close, overcome any emotional bursts combined with their ability, and try to stay in the game."

James Worthy scored 26 for Los Angeles and Kareem Abdul-Jabbar summoned up a heroic game out of his 42-year-old body with 24 points and 13 rebounds, his best game of the playoffs. Michael Cooper played the entire game at guard and had 15 points and 13 assists. But the Lakers, once again, could not handle Detroit's guards down the stretch.

Then Dumars scored and after Cooper pulled up for a jumper, Dumars rattled in a 20-footer. Worthy scored. So did Dumars. Abdul-Jabbar threw in a turnaround, and then Dumars sank a technical foul free throw.

"Joe's third quarter shot a little of the juice out of them," Vinnie Johnson said, "because they couldn't pull away. Every time the crowd got into it he would make a big basket and quiet them down."

The fourth quarter has belonged to Detroit all post-season, and it did again Sunday. Los Angeles led by 94-90, but the Pistons tied the score at 94 and 96, and took the lead on Johnson's runner in the lane. Abdul-Jabbar tied it but Johnson hit again as Campbell fouled him, and the free throw made it 101-98 with 6:11 to play.

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But Dumars came back in. Rivers took the inbound pass from Cooper and looked open on the left side, but Dumars came flying and swatted the shot away, corralled the ball and flipped it to Bill Laimbeer before falling out of bounds.

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So they find themselves in the same predicament from which no NBA team has ever extracted itself: winning the seven-game series after losing the first three games.

"I felt like every shot was going to fall, and most of them did," said Dumars, 12 of 21 from the floor, but nine of 14 in the second half. His marksmanship, as it did in Game 2, kept the Lakers from pulling away, during a quarter in which Los Angeles shot 74 percent (14 of 19) from the floor, yet led by just 88-86 afterward.

To that point, the Lakers had done what they had to do to stay in the game without Magic Johnson.

Without Johnson, Los Angeles went to Worthy and to Abdul-Jabbar, who was 10 of 19 from the floor. Tony Campbell was strong during the first half, when he scored all of his 11 points, and the Lakers pulled in 11 offensive rebounds by half-time, although they trailed 57-55.

In the third, the Lakers pressed the issue, but every time, Dumars had a response. Los Angeles hit its first seven shots in the third, taking a 72-67 lead when Orlando Woolridge went the length of the floor for a thunderous dunk.

Then Dumars scored and after Cooper pulled up for a jumper, Dumars rattled in a 20-footer. Worthy scored. So did Dumars. Abdul-Jabbar threw in a turnaround, and then Dumars sank a technical foul free throw.

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SIDELINES

Lineker May Sign With Tottenham

LONDON (UPI) — Gary Lineker of England, one of the top center forwards in European soccer, is set to leave the Barcelona team and join the Tottenham Hotspurs this week in a \$2.3 million deal.

The 28-year-old striker is expected to rejoin his former manager, Terry Venables, who was the coach at Barcelona when the Spanish club paid \$4 million for Lineker three years ago. Lineker, despite having three years left on his contract, was put on the transfer list last week by Barcelona's current coach, Johan Cruyff.

Craig Payton of Australia defeated Ian Woosnam of Britain on the first playoff hole Sunday to win the European PGA golf tournament in Rickmansworth, England. (AP)

Ian Botham, England's cricket ace, has lost all feeling in the right side of his face after being hit by a ball six days ago. (UPI)

Two football fans were killed and more than 100 were injured Sunday when the crowd stampeded before a World Cup qualifying match between Liberia and Mali in Monrovia, Liberia. (APF)

Four professional golfers will be inducted into the PGA World Golf Hall of Fame in November. They are Raymond Floyd, Nancy Lopez, Roberto DeVicenzo and the late Jim Barnes. (AP)

Quotable

• Kareem Abdul-Jabbar, on the Los Angeles Lakers' loss to the Detroit Pistons in Game 1 of the NBA finals: "Winners smile, losers say shut up and deal." (UPI)

• George Foreman, the former heavyweight

